Heritage Language Education: Issues and Directions

Proceedings of a Conference Organized by the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State, Saskatoon, June 1981

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Cat. No. S2-110/1983E
ISBN 0-662-12426-X

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Preface

When the Government of Canada adopted a policy of multiculturalism over a decade ago, it committed itself to assist those ethnocultural groups which are actively striving to preserve, develop and share their cultural heritage and identify with other Canadians.

But such concepts as cultural heritage and cultural identity cannot survive effectively without support for the respective languages which are their vehicles.

Canada's multiculturalism policy can only preserve and enhance our cultural diversity if we give life to heritage languages – and the intellectual advantage of possessing many languages seems so incontestable that it is a wonder some people still resist the idea.

Languages serve, above all, to communicate. To retain, or to acquire, one's heritage language is to retain or acquire yet another wavelength of communication between self and community, between children and parents . . . to achieve a greater understanding of one's roots . . . to develop one's intellectual capacity . . . and to enhance one's job opportunities.

I believe our great potential Canadian language bank must be developed, supported and tapped. It is one of Canada's great resources.

I was very pleased, therefore, to sponsor the conference "Heritage Language Education – Direction for the 1980s" at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan in June 1981. Some 150 participants represented heritage and Native language educational interest groups, boards of education, provincial ministries of education and cultural affairs, and the academic professions.

This successful conference was due largely to the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, which established the theme and format following extensive planning sessions throughout the country to ensure that the agenda would be relevant to the widest possible cross section of concerns, and that the selection of delegates and resource people would ensure a truly national orientation.

Special thanks also are due to Professor Lorne Laforge, Dean of Literature at Laval University, who chaired the proceedings; Dr. Jim Cummins of the Modern Language Centre, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, who was conference program convenor and edited this report; Max Yalden, Commissioner of Official Languages, the main guest speaker; Ms. Liz Dowdeswell, Deputy Minister, Ministry of Culture and Youth, who welcomed delegates on behalf of the Province of Saskatchewan, and Ms. Eileen Delaney of the University of Saskatchewan, the conference hostess.

Canada's multilingual capability is a source of great strength – our windows on the wide world. I trust that this report on "Heritage Language Education – Direction for the 1980s" will further heighten public interest and support, while providing information and encouragement for all who are engaged in learning or teaching heritage languages.

(Jim Fleming)
The Honourable Jim Fleming
Minister of State Multiculturalism

Introduction

During the past decade ethnic groups in Canada have begun to exert significant pressure to have their languages taught within the public school system. The 1971 federal multiculturalism policy and subsequent provincial policies were perceived by ethnic groups as legitimizing such expectations, although these policies tended to be somewhat ambiguous with respect to the promotion of heritage languages. In 1971, Alberta became the first province to pass enabling legislation to permit languages other than English or French to be used as mediums of instruction in the public school system. Shortly thereafter the Ukrainian-English bilingual program, involving 50% of instructional time in each language throughout elementary school, was instituted in the Edmonton public and separate school systems. As a result of the success of the Ukrainian program, a German-English bilingual program was started in Edmonton in the late '70s and similar bilingual programs (primarily involving Ukrainian) have been implemented in the other prairie provinces. These programs have aroused relatively little public controversy in the prairie provinces and appear to have been accepted by both governments and the public as alternative school programs with valid educational goals.

During the '70s, pressure steadily increased in Ontario for the incorporation of heritage language teaching within the regular school day. As a result of increased immigration in the late '60s, the ethnic composition of Metropolitan Toronto changed dramatically, such that by the mid-'70s more than 50% of the Toronto Board's student population came from non-English-speaking home backgrounds. However, as the political influence of ethnic groups in cities like Toronto increased, so too did the concerns of those who espoused the more traditional "Anglo-conformity" orientation. An example of the strength of this backlash is that although the Toronto Board Work Group on Multicultural Programs draft report (1975) originally proposed the establishment of programs to maintain heritage cultures and languages through the use of heritage languages as both mediums and subjects of instruction, these proposals were withdrawn in the final report (1976) as a result of the strong opposition which they evoked from certain sections of the community.

In 1977 the Ontario government partially accommodated to the demands of ethnic groups by announcing the Heritage Languages Program which provided funds for the teaching of heritage languages outside the regular five hour school day. The numbers of students enrolled in this program have grown substantially in its first three years of operation, from around 55,000 in 1977-78 to more than 76,000 in 1979-80.

However, as outlined by several contributors in this volume, there are serious problems associated with teaching heritage languages outside of regular school hours and the pressure has continued on the Ontario government to allow heritage languages to be taught within the regular school day and also to pass enabling legislation to permit the use of heritage languages as mediums of instruction. For example, the recent final report of the Toronto Board's Work Group on Third Language Instruction (1982) strongly endorses bilingual and trilingual programs involving heritage languages, despite the fact that these are currently not legally permissible in Ontario.

In 1978 the Quebec government instituted the Programme de l'enseignement des langues d'origine (PELO) in which Italian, Portuguese and Greek are taught to children of these backgrounds for 30 minutes per day during regular school hours. Approximately 600 students are currently enrolled in this program. In addition, Montreal has several highly successful French, Hebrew, English trilingual programs in operation (see Braverman this volume).

In addition to these recent developments, Native and Inuit languages are taught as

subjects in many parts of the country and there have also been some attempts to institute bilingual programs involving these languages. For the most part these attempts to implement bilingual programs have been limited in scope as a result of inadequate materials and lack of qualified teachers. However, the initiatives currently underway in the Northwest Territories to train Inuit teachers (see Wilman this volume) promise to set up the infrastructure necessary to allow bilingual programs to thrive.

These recent initiatives have taken place for the most part under provincial and territorial government jurisdiction since education is part of the provincial mandate. However, the federal government has been actively involved in supporting heritage language instruction in supplementary language schools under its Cultural Enrichment Program. Although supplementary language schools have survived, and in some cases flourished, for a considerable period of time despite limited resources and lack of adequate curricular materials and trained teachers, there is a general recognition that their operation would be greatly strengthened by increased cooperation both within and between language groups.

It was this theme of cooperation to overcome problems in heritage language teaching at all levels that formed the focus of the Saskatoon conference. The conference was so organized that participants from across the country representing many different ethnic groups and social roles would have the opportunity to discuss their individual and shared problems and constructively work together to identify solutions.

The structure of the conference involved an opening panel to identify problems and possibilities in heritage language instruction, followed by a series of two-hour and one-hour workshops designed to allow small group discussion of the issues. On the final day of the conference, the second panel focused on future directions and strategies of cooperation in heritage language teaching and Professor Lorne Laforge in his concluding remarks synthesized the discussion and recommendations that emerged from the conference.

The issues identified by the participants ranged from the problems at the level of national goals and priorities to those involving the personal and intellectual development of individual children. Two general types of issues emerged – issues of principle and issues of practice. Among the former was the issue of the ambiguities which many participants perceived in federal and provincial policies towards heritage language promotion vis-a-vis the two official languages. At the level of the community, a concern to many participants was the question of whether ethnocultural communities could hope to survive and maintain an identity in the face of rapid language loss by their children. The question of whether the teaching of heritage languages was a legitimate responsibility of the public school was recognized by participants as a central issue in the minds of many Canadians. There was obviously little disagreement among participants in relation to this issue; the question that was of concern, however, was the practical one of convincing the general public, school trustees and government bodies of the importance of heritage language teaching for Canadian children and for society as a whole. The question of the rights of children was also raised and it was pointed out that court decisions in the United States had effectively mandated schools to incorporate minority children's first language into the public school system to provide equality of educational opportunity. Participants wondered how many Canadian children are experiencing educational difficulties as a result of the insensitivity of school systems to their language and culture.

In addition to discussing at length these issues of principle, the conference participants focused on the practical issue of how to implement strategies of cooperation to help overcome obstacles to effective heritage language teaching. The recommendations that emerged from this cooperative process are outlined on pages 62 to 64. The major recommendations focused on clarifying, and where necessary, changing federal and provincial policies, facilitating pre-service and in-service training of heritage language teachers, strengthening the development and dissemination of curriculum materials, and promoting research on the development of bilingualism among children learning heritage languages.

However, any description of the issues discussed at this conference fails to capture what to many participants was its essence, namely, the process whereby Canadians from such diverse linguistic, ethnocultural and geographical backgrounds came together and worked towards a common goal in a spirit of friendship and cooperation. A strong sense of community developed among participants during the course of the conference as a result of sharing thoughts, feelings, and aspirations in an atmosphere of mutual respect and appreciation. This sense of community was eloquently expressed by two of the participants in the final session. The first comment comes from a Manitoba Hutterite, Mike Mendel:

> *On behalf of the Hutterians in Canada, I just want to express my thanks for being invited to this conference. I've learned a lot; we've talked to some of the most wonderful people that we would never have been able to meet if it had not been for the invitation of the people from the Secretary of State . . . We feel that we have no place to go, like it was stated yesterday and in some of the workshops, if we were to lose our language. I want to thank every one of the people here that came and I feel that . . . we have a lot to learn.*

The second comment comes from Ida McLeod of the Saskatchewan Indian Federation:

> *I'd like to thank you for inviting me; I feel honoured to be here . . . I'm speaking on behalf of the Indian people of Saskatchewan, who have been struggling to have their languages taught in the classrooms . . . I have found people who are very sensitive to other cultures in this conference, and I feel very much at home here. I don't very often feel that way in a non-Indian conference, but thanks very much everybody.*

This first national conference on Heritage Language Education brought home emotionally to participants what they had already known intellectually: namely, that the languages and cultures of Canada are, in the words of Book IV of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission, "an integral part of the national wealth" (p. 14). Participants left Saskatoon with both renewed determination and concrete strategies to ensure that this wealth is fostered rather than squandered.

Jim Cummins

Welcoming Address

Liz Dowdeswell

It is with a great deal of enthusiasm that I welcome all of you to this conference and bring greetings to you on behalf of the Saskatchewan Provincial Government and in particular from the Minister of Culture and Youth (as well as Education and Continuing Education), the Honourable Doug McArthur.

It is most appropriate for this first national conference on heritage language teaching to be held in Saskatchewan. I say this at the risk of being parochial because Saskatchewan's central distinction has always been its multicultural base, a fact that spokespeople for the province have no difficulty in expressing with a great deal of pride. All of us acknowledge with pleasure and indeed with congratulations, the sponsorship of this conference by the Minister of State for Multiculturalism as part of the celebrations denoting the tenth anniversary of the federal government's statement of policy on multiculturalism. I had occasion to go back and look at the words the Prime Minister used in 1971 and I think that Saskatchewan would have little difficulty concurring with the Prime Minister when he pointed out that multiculturalism would give structure and vitality to our society and provide support for individual freedom and choice.

The present Saskatchewan government is determined to maintain the rich cultural diversity of the province. Saskatchewan was the first province in Canada to bring forward multicultural legislation, the Multicultural Act in 1974, and I believe it is still the only province in Canada with this type of legislation. The provincial government is presently examining very diligently what its role can and should be in fostering culture and the arts in Saskatchewan. In the course of a series of 11 meetings involving 1,300 people and 300 briefs held throughout the province, it became very clear that the people of Saskatchewan have a strong commitment to supporting culture and the arts.

Of particular interest in the present context are three points which came out of these public consultations and discussions around the province. First, there was clearly a recognition of the multicultural base of Saskatchewan society; second, there was a firm declaration that the preservation of our cultural and linguistic heritage was crucial; and, more specifically, there was clear evidence of a strong desire for an increase in language teaching in education at all levels.

In deciding what the provincial government's role is going to be in the nature of enabler and coordinator, these three points are going to be ones that we will be pondering in the very near future. I think the government is prepared to assume a leadership role but I think it will assume that leadership role in the way in which we have normally done things in Saskatchewan, namely, by carrying on the Saskatchewan tradition of building on what currently exists in the province; by supporting community-based initiatives ; and for us this means that any initiatives that will be taken will be to assist multicultural councils, to assist multilingual associations, language schools, Indian and Native curriculum development and teacher training initiatives.

We have for some time realized that some of the things that work in other provinces, particularly those with a larger population base, just don't work here in Saskatchewan. We have very much to rely on the expertise and willingness of the Saskatchewan volunteer, whether it be the language teacher or the particular organization that puts together a whole heritage school. When I say that we count on the initiatives of local communities, I think that it also holds true even in the more formal educational system.

For some time heritage language teaching between K and grade 12 has taken place outside the formal school system but in recent years Saskatchewan's Education Act has been amended to make it very clear that not only can heritage languages be taught but they can also be used as

languages of instruction in the school system. This is of course a community decision, and quite rightly so. Language of instruction is by school board resolution, not by government fiat. I think this illustrates well the way we tend to approach cultural and educational matters in the province. The government, then, has seen its role as providing enabling legislation and leaving the initiatives up to the local community.

The opportunity to be with you briefly this morning and to bring greetings has the danger of bringing out the politician in me. I have to restrain myself from going through a list of some small initiatives that this government has taken. I could point to the multilingual consultant within the Department of Education, the multicultural unit within the Department of Culture and Youth, the kinds of workshops we put on for teachers, the kinds of inservice sessions, the kinds of grant support, whether it be within the school system or for school-age children outside the school system, perhaps at Saturday day schools. I could point to the type of cooperative work that is going on between the three prairie provinces in the development of a Ukrainian language curriculum. But I suppose if I were to draw your attention to any particular initiative, the important point I would want to make is that in Saskatchewan initiatives in the area of multilingual/multicultural activities are not the province of any particular organization, agency or government department. In addition to the initiatives and activities already mentioned, I could just as easily comment on the multilingual collection and services of the provincial library or on the work of Saskmedia Corporation which has helped so many multilingual groups in the preparation of a variety of software for communications purposes. Thus, the important point is that the government has established enabling legislation and it is in recognition of the importance of our multicultural base that so many departments and agencies are involved in cultural matters in this province.

In Saskatchewan we learned very early that the soil, no matter how rich it may be, will never be truly productive unless it is cultivated. It has taken us a number of years to learn another lesson about cultivation and that is that the full extent of the humanity of our people will never be fully acknowledged until we can cultivate our linguistic heritage as well. I wish you all a very productive and successful conference, my congratulations to the organizers, and I hope that this will be but the first of many initiatives in the field.

Keynote Speeches

James Fleming
Minister of State for Multiculturalism

Heritage Languages and the Policy of Multiculturalism

Ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased to be attending this Heritage Language Education Seminar. I believe this is the first national effort of its kind in our country. In your discussions today, and in the next two days, you will have the opportunity to explore in depth the challenging subject of heritage language education.

As you know, as leaders in the field, the strength of heritage languages differs from one region of the country to another, depending to a great degree on ethnic composition and density of population. The policies of education systems and the various levels of government are vital in determining the place that heritage languages will enjoy in our society. The meetings this week will help, I hope, to provide a focus for heritage language policy development in the months ahead, within the context of the overall federal multiculturalism policy. I hope the exchange and the resulting focus will be useful to provincial and municipal governments, and help me as well.

I am particularly pleased that this conference is taking place during the tenth anniversary of the promulgation of the government's multiculturalism policy. I feel that the area of heritage languages is a vital component of the full development of multiculturalism in Canadian society.

The concerns and issues raised at this conference are basic to the question of ethnic and native group survival and, therefore, basic to the future development of our multicultural nation. If one regards Canadian society as a whole, no one can take issue with the fact that we have a culturally pluralistic identity. The variety of languages spoken in the streets and neighbourhoods of our cities as well as in the hamlets and villages of our far-flung country is testimony to our reality.

But it is common knowledge that too many in Canadian society do not understand the policy of multiculturalism. This policy was announced 10 years ago to reinforce and to give recognition to the pluralistic cultural character of Canada. Ten years later there is still much to be done.

For too many, multiculturalism is a source of apprehension. Not to agree with or to fear this policy is, in my estimation, the same thing as not being able to face up to reality, as shunning the true cultural identity and the diverse historical heritage of our country. Yet, honestly, much of the fear or apprehension is simply misunderstanding. Some is not.

While I firmly believe that our strength and our uniqueness as Canadians in large measure directly derives from our cultural diversity, I do not underrate the destructiveness to which fear and ignorance can give rise. They lead in turn to ethnocentric behavior. Such an attitude by the more powerful in our society can and has caused harm, grief and insult beyond the comprehension of those who have not suffered it. Albeit some more than others, both Native and ethnocultural communities in this country can bear witness to this fact. In turn, it has sapped and undermined the integrity and the pride of peoples who, because of cultural, social, linguistic, religious or other circumstances were perceived to be different and therefore ready objects for prejudice and discrimination. To my regret, a regret which is shared deeply by my colleagues in Cabinet, this assault on the integrity and pride of fellow Canadians appears to be on the rise again as can be witnessed from the resurgence of extremists and particularly racists groups in our country. The vicious slander campaigns carried out by these organizations do not only threaten and undermine the integrity of cultural and racial minorities in our midst; they threaten the very fabric of society as a whole and the fundamental principle of the multiculturalism policy itself. Intolerance in whatever form is the antithesis of multiculturalism and everything it stands for; the right to equal opportunity, the freedom of cultural expression and of religious opinions, the freedom to maintain and to strengthen the cultural-linguistic milieu and lifestyle which one must have to self-identify and feel equal in our diverse society.

Perhaps you wonder why I have chosen to begin my comments focussing on the problem of racism within a forum dedicated to heritage language education. I have done so for two reasons. The first one is to make it clear that I believe the Multiculturalism Program must increasingly direct its attention to the resolution of this serious problem. Within a multicultural, multiracial and multireligious society it simply cannot be condoned that people – fellow citizens – are treated as second class and unwanted. My second reason is that I see heritage language education as an important strategy to combat racist attitudes and behavior. Attitude formation is shaped to a large degree by the educational system. Tolerance is taught when children see that their friends, whom they see every day, can also communicate in a different way. It gives an appreciation of the background of the other person and the realization that Canada is diverse, encompassing many cultures.

Our collective memory as a nation, our collective experiences as a Canadian people, our traditions and value systems are only in part of this soil. We are an amalgam of old country peoples. As such no one in Canadian society can claim not to have been deeply influenced and to a great extent formed by conditions and circumstances in other lands. The Native peoples know that they have not escaped the influences of the cultures and civilizations unknown to them only a few short centuries ago. Our society to a significant degree is that of an immigrant nation. It is largely up to us whether we wish to assume this heritage; whether we see it as a burden or as an opportunity.

If we assume it and perceive it as an opportunity, then we must give full scope to the variety and diversity of traits wrapped and locked up in that identity which for want of a better word is the Canadian multicultural identity.

The multicultural identity is an identity which is postulated on the principle of respect for the aspirations and integrity of others – of our fellow Canadians irrespective of their racial characteristics and religious or cultural preferences.

We cannot have it both ways. We cannot from the perspective of present day human rights conventions take an antiracist stand, and yet demand that our cultural minorities cast off their particular identities, their values, traditions and beliefs to be come assimilated into the larger whole – whatever it may stand for. The idea of cultural superiority in whatever form, however subtle, needs to be challenged. This idea was rejected forcefully by Prime Minister Trudeau speaking on the multiculturalism policy when he introduced it in the House of Commons 10 years ago:

> *For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly.*
>
> *A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the Government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians.*

The subject of the relationship between culture and language must be addressed in the context of these statements. Language is the bearer of culture; in fact the concepts of language and culture are indivisible.

I firmly believe in the principle of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" as a sound and appropriate foundation for Canadian cultural policy formulation.

I am of Scottish origin, I grew up in the most "ethnic" region of the Province of Ontario. Kitchener, my home town, is identified with its German-Canadian population. My part of Ontario is not known as one of French-Canadian settlement; yet, I strongly believe in the justness of the official languages policy. Although I continue to identify with the region in which I spent my youth and my teenage years, I recognize the particular mark which our fellow French Canadians have placed upon this country over the course of the centuries. I should note

here that before Canadians began to perceive this country as having a culturally pluralistic nature, it was perceived and identified as a duality; a cultural duality based on historic realities and conventions, at that time a duality protected by law. The policy of multiculturalism would be a mockery indeed if it would take away and undermine the cultural rights and freedoms of the first major immigrant settlement group to come to this country, a community which continues to represent approximately more than a quarter of the Canadian population. From a national perspective, I believe it is not possible nor realistic to expect to come to terms with our contemporary pluralistic nature as a nation, unless full justice is shown to Canada's historic character. Multiculturalism must build on and develop out of our history, out of our reality; it must not be rooted in a denial of our history. The policy of official bilingualism as contained in the Official Languages Act and the policy of multiculturalism have been presented to Canadians as two sides of the same coin. If one side is defaced the whole coin is devalued.

It goes without saying that the official languages are a great reinforcing element to the Anglo-Celtic and French cultural communities in Canadian society. I marvel, however, at the boldness of the stance to declare that Canada should not be officially identified with the cultural traditions of its predominant language communities in order that the minorities might have the cultural freedom to develop and grow in accordance with their wishes. To my mind, the policy statement "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" reconciles the historic fact of cultural duality and the contemporary pluralistic face of Canadian society.

Through our Multiculturalism Program initiatives — be it at the federal, provincial or municipal levels of government — we must ensure that the historic role which the ethnocultural and Native groups have played in the development of this country receive full recognition. Furthermore, we must ensure that these groups are afforded support to contribute as full and equal partners in the cultural growth and development of Canada.

This cannot be achieved by undermining and by ignoring the diversity and wealth of the cultural and, by extension, the linguistic traditions which existed in this country long before European settlement began and those which have been brought to Canada through the processes of immigration. Perhaps it is time that we remind the assimilationists that the Native peoples, Inuit and Indian, did not beg anyone to come to share their land and resources; that we remind them that the "ethnics" were invited, often through aggressive immigration campaigns to break the sod, to build the transportation links, to etch the skylines of our cities.

We all have reason to be proud, for each in our own way has endured. And, in doing so, we have grown to love this land, and we have been enriched by its diversity.

Being a people with the right to cultural freedom, we must defend the traditions which give meaning and integrity to our existence. In doing so it is imperative that we encourage the maintenance of the linguistic traditions which are the basis of cultural retention.

With respect to Native languages, it is important that we maintain them, not so that future linguists and etymologists may have a feast classifying and analysing them, but as a distinctive part of the Canadian heritage and as an essential in maintaining seriously threatened cultures which are, indeed, the original Canadian cultures.

The primary reason for having representatives of the Native peoples and of individuals concerned with the teaching and maintenance of the Native languages to this seminar is for me to give visibility to this group of heritage languages; the oldest Canadian languages, often spoken nowhere but in this country.

The Native languages are the windows on our country. They are associated with a value system and worldview which have much to teach us about the balance of nature. It is my hope that this seminar may be a beginning of a continuing dialogue between all parties dedicated to the maintenance of heritage languages in Canada. Moreover, I hope that in that dialogue the particular and special place of the Native languages in the milieu of Canadian heritage languages may not be forgotten.

Just as the Native languages are the windows of the country, the ethnocultural languages spoken in Canada are our windows on the world. Vigorous programs to maintain these languages would enable us as a nation state to stand at the crossroads where East, West, North and South meet each other. These languages, aside from being important as vehicles of culture which give substance and focus to our pluralistic society, constitute an immense asset to the nation in economic and sociopolitical terms. It would be shortsighted in the extreme not to recognize or not to cultivate this asset. Many youngsters in Canadian society are currently enrolled in programs which will enable them to function in both of the official languages. Common sense indicates that this is the only effective way to achieve rapprochement between the two official language communities. Many other youngsters — and often representatives of the ethnocultural communities — are being educated within home, community and school environments to enable them to function in three or more languages. Having an ability in several languages, they will have a unique opportunity to serve the interests of our Canada at home and abroad.

Approximately 85,000 students enrolled in supplementary schools conducted by ethnocultural and to an extent by Native community organizations are supported under the cultural enrichment program of the Government of Canada. Many of these students are funded as well under complimentary provincial support programs. In addition, some 70,000–80,000 youngsters study their heritage languages with the support of provincial departments of education.

Although precise figures are currently lacking due to the overlapping of funding programs, it is obvious that the interest in heritage language education continues to be considered as a priority concern by many Canadians.

I strongly believe we must continue program funding for heritage language teaching activities as pursued by voluntary community groups. Good arguments can be made — I have advanced some of them myself in these remarks — for a more vigorous pursuit of heritage language education.

I am deeply concerned however about the effectiveness of public funding expenditures made in support of heritage language teaching programs as pursued within the voluntary sector. My concern is primarily with the continued lack of an efficient infrastructure - that is, with the lack of mutual support systems within and among heritage language education interest groups. I know that the demands on volunteer time and effort in this area of activity are stretched to the breaking point. I do believe that the expenditure of this time and effort could be spent more effectively. Because of those concerns, I initiated this seminar. I want it to be exploratory in nature and a platform for the exchange of your concerns and experience.

In doing so I hope that you will use it, in no small measure, to reflect on the current state of the art and possibilities for the future.

I do want to do my part. But I challenge you that much of the onus must continue to remain with you as the speakers of the languages. As you know I have, as a federal minister, no mandate in the field of formal education. Nor does my mandate extend to Native education in a formal sense. It is, however, my mandate to stimulate community development, to assist community groups in seeking access to the institutional infrastructure in Canadian society and to enable groups in a financial way to realize and achieve certain objectives which are central to their needs and aspirations as Canadians.

I look forward to receiving and studying your recommendations. I hope other governments will find them useful as well. I hope that for all of you this meeting will be worth the time and effort you have given it, to try and do something to make Canada a better place for us all.

Language Ethnicity and Community

Max Yalden
Commissioner of Official Languages

Introduction

I sometimes think the hardest part of giving a speech is finding the title. You need something resounding enough to look well in the program. But you still want to make at least a few practical observations in the delivery. It remains to be seen whether my subject today will stand up to that test.

But whatever we conclude, it is surely right to take another look at those mighty abstractions — language, ethnicity and community. And it is a particularly appropriate time in the wake of Canada's decennial census. The census itself is a many-sided ritual. It may at first glance appear that we submit to being enumerated and categorized simply to satisfy the statistical cravings of our legislators. But in large measure I think we also undergo the process for reasons of personal curiosity. We want to know what the census can tell us about ourselves.

In Canada much of our official as well as our private curiosity is addressed to language and ethnicity. We can hardly help being conscious of, and interested in, the successive layers of cultural stratification that have made the country what it is. We also recognize that, for better or worse, these are critical factors for our collective future and our sense of community.

We are also conscious of living at a time when truly revolutionary changes are taking place in the technology of communications. The same country which gave the world the Marshall McLuhan view of the cultural significance of mass media once again stands in the forefront of major technical developments in the field of instantaneous information.

And if all this is not enough to have to wrestle with after this excellent dinner, you know as well as I do the political and constitutional dimensions of the subject we are engaged with at this conference. Perhaps more than any other dimension of the Canadian heritage, languages bring together two highly charged aspects of our lives: individual self-expression, and collective decision making. Placed as we are, we are bound to see languages against the background of the political process.

I cannot do more than touch today on some of the implications of this interaction of languages with the larger cultural setting. But I hope as a minimum that this will help to give shape to some of the questions that this conference will want to ask itself. Let me try to set out for you, as clearly as I can, some of the problems as I see them, and let me share with you some personal as well as professional ideas about solutions. To begin, I'll identify the problems.

First there is the ambivalence of language itself. Languages differentiate one group from another. But at the same time, they are a necessary social link for bringing groups together for common purposes. Because language faces both ways, we need to remind ourselves that particular languages can and do collaborate as well as compete. They stimulate and feed each other even when they seem locked in competition for a single living space.

Second, I have to mention the status of particular languages. The fact is that human nature and human institutions are quite capable of according different values to different languages in different circumstances. Indeed, sooner or later most people acquire some knowledge of more than one language. As the authors of the B & B Report reminded us, bilingualism is universal, if only because there are many more languages than there are nations.

But what is more interesting is the variety of human motives for being bilingual or pluralingual. It may seem obvious but it is fundamental to bear in mind that it is our personal and collective motivations that have the greatest impact on the status and use of the languages available to us.

The third problem is a very practical, economic one: however motivated they may be, neither the average human being nor the average human community has the means to develop all its linguistic interests to the same extent. Like it or not, life imposes on us a system of priorities, not merely the choice between good and bad but the choice between alternative goods.

The fourth problem is to express the confusion of individual priorities through a framework of legislation and institutions which will reflect our idea of an affordable consensus. We in Canada have had more than a little experience of this matter. But we still do not know enough about enshrining and promoting language interests to be entirely sure how to act for the best.

Finally, one may wonder how our linguistic inheritance will adjust to the conditions of an information explosion. Will the new miracles such as Telidon, any more than the older miracles like radio and television, mitigate or exacerbate our language problems? Are the languages of man in some ways at the mercy of these innovations? Or are these innovations neutral to our linguisitic interests and subject to our political will?

Let us now look at each of these problems in turn.

The Ambivalence of Language

There is no need to dwell, in this company, on the enigmatic qualities of human language. My immediate concern is with the social aspect of language, the aspect that makes it so often a shibboleth, a badge of one's tribe, a mark of ethnicity and kinship.

Certainly there is no getting away from this feeling of being rooted in the language to which we and our ancestors were born. And the feeling is not less passionate for being ever so slightly misleading. Our family trees are usually a great deal more hybrid than we may care to admit.

Be that as it may, the home language, the family language, the heritage language — as we now sometimes call it — is among our most intimate and precious possessions or associations.

There are those who would dismiss these associations as sentimental, nostalgic or folkloric, but most of us feel pretty strongly that it is simple human nature to maintain and treasure such links with the past from which we arose.

The question for us today, then, is not whether we should respect our linguistic heritage but how. Whether we ought to do it, as it were, on the quiet by treating our language as a private matter. Or whether it can be made into a common resource to be cultivated, exploited and shared. In my view the answer is clear enough. We have on the whole been too timid about language in the past, and we have been discouraged from exploiting the linguistic resources we enjoy by the too widespread feeling that these cultural gifts remain most intact if they are kept within the family or cultural group from which they spring. I hope now that we may be coming to realize that Canada has a more public need of all its languages — that we must develop a capacity to make use of them.

The Status of Particular Languages

That's all well and good, you may say, this idyllic picture of all our languages in

happy and equal coexistence. But we also have to reckon with the fact that created equal though they may be, some appear to be more equal than others.

Language status is a reality and we are here to talk about realities. It is a matter of observation that, even where languages do satisfactorily coexist, within the same person or the same body politic, they do so with some respect for the division of labor. Different languages or dialects are maintained for different functions.

In this respect, it is no accident that the federal Official Languages Act, which I am called upon to oversee, does not stop at setting out the "equality of status" of English and French as the official languages of Canada. It goes on to specify what is meant by official by pointing to their use within and by the institutions of the federal parliament and government.

Nor should we forget the legislator's specific statement in Section 38 of that same Act that:

> *Nothing in this Act shall be construed as derogating from or diminishing in any way any legal or customary right or privilege acquired or enjoyed . . . (by) . . . any language that is not an official language.*

I must admit it is one of the continuing disappointments of my Office that these two important aspects of the Act never seem to be satisfactorily explained. On the contrary we constantly come up against what one might call the conspiracy theory of bilingualism. Some people cannot seem to help suspecting that the declaration of official languages is the first step towards linguistic homogenization – that there can only be one kind of individual bilingualism in Canada and that is English-French bilingualism.

That this suspicion remains so real and so pervasive no doubt has something to do with Canada's not altogether enviable history in language matters. We tend to pride ourselves on the fact that we never subscribed to the melting-pot philosophy as practiced in the United States. Yet Canadians have seldom shown themselves to be more than tolerant-by-accident to the many languages and cultures that have taken up residence with in our borders.

I would suggest to you that the status of the heritage languages is not a function of their relationship to English and French except in one key respect. The federal decision to recognize the importance of French to the survival of the Canadian federation was also, implicitly, a larger gesture in the direction of linguistic liberties in Canada. If it is true that English and French are, for perfectly valid, practical as well as political reasons, given priority for certain national purposes, it should be clear that other Canadian languages now have an opportunity to justify and establish themselves for similar reasons: because they link us with the past, of course, but principally because they are useful in the present and for the future.

Languages and Economics

When we talk about opportunities for the various languages of Canada to develop their proper place in our society, we are, in my view, talking about two things:

- first, we have to be clear about our rationale. We have to spell out, both for the individual and the group, a plausible motivation for maintaining that language in the contemporary Canadian setting;
- second, we have to take a hard look at our educational and other institutions to see whether our priorities, our curricula and our social structures are adapted to our linguistic goals.

In spite of some knowledge of languages other than English and French, I do not come before you as an authority on heritage languages. On the other hand, I can claim some hard-earned professional experience of how individual and institutional economics affect the maintenance and use of English and French. From that perspective, I may perhaps offer an opinion on the two factors I have just mentioned: the motivation for language maintenance and the institutional conditions that are necessary for that purpose.

I am too much of a realist to think that our heritage languages can long survive purely on the basis of family piety or cultural curiosity. It is their social, commercial and even political usefulness that seems to me more likely to be decisive for their future role in our society. And what a rich stock of eminently usable languages we have inherited. But are we using them, are we even encouraging their use? Do we have even the broadest strategy, the most general objectives for using and improving our linguistic talents?

I stand to be corrected, but it seems to me that, here as in so many cases, Canadians have been indecisive, that we have left things to chance to an almost unpardonable degree. I can testify all too easily to the confusions that surround both our private and public investment in English and French, whether as languages of administration or of culture. Canadians find no difficulty for example in favoring one linguistic strategy as parents and a completely inconsistent strategy as guardians of public policy.

To the extent it is really true, as I optimistically suggested, that we are emerging from the straitjacket of uniligualism and linguistic intolerance, it is also true that we continue to live with beggar-my-neighbour attitudes and rigid, antiquated and inward-looking institutions. In the circumstances, it is all too possible to muddle our motivation, squander our resources and frustrate the generous impulses that are at work.

That is why, in my opinion, Canada needs to formulate some national goals in the general area of languages. They must be goals that are not exclusively addressed to improvising solutions to problems left over from the past. They must allow us to work toward a feasible linguistic future.

Among those goals I would include at least these three:

- that Canada, in recognition of the many potential economic, political and social advantages that are to be found in its linguistic heritage, foster a command of two or more languages among its citizens;
- that this goal be administratively ratified by legislation to authorize reasonable and appropriate institutional support; and
- that, above all, it be made a priority objective of our educational system that Canadians accept a thorough working knowledge of a second language as a normal requirement for graduation from high school or university.

A Framework of Legislation and Institutions

The reason I attach importance to a legislative framework is twofold. In the first place there is no question in my mind that, although laws do not in themselves make things happen, things happen more quickly with laws to back them up.

The second relates to what I said earlier about the interdependence of our official languages and other Canadian languages. The example of what *can* be achieved by attributing a particular institutional status to English and French ought to make us more alert to the possibilities of assigning a functional status to other languages.

There is nothing in the stipulation that French has equal rights with English for federal purposes which prevents, let us say, the province of British Columbia from assigning a special administrative status to Japanese, or Alberta to Ukrainian, and so on. On the contrary, the more functionally specific we can be the better.

This is not to say that anyone would expect the provinces to develop an exhaustive schedule of languages and their authorized uses.

What is important is to set up an administrative counterweight to the negative perception that particular languages are getting a disproportionate amount of attention. The only market-related counterweight that I can see is an educational system that will give second-language education the priority which seems to me to be indispensable for Canada's future.

At some point, of course, the combination of personal and institutional economics will give an edge to some languages over others. Our responsibility, however, is to establish the sort of conditions in which the opportunities are, as much as is humanly possible, the same for all. Which is where technology could come in.

Language and Technology

Even the most casual reader of the daily newspapers must have noticed that something pretty remarkable is afoot in the technology of communications. Not for the first time are we looking to technological innovations to overcome our age-old problems.

The effect of new technologies on the viability of our heritage languages seems to me worth pondering for several reasons: The chief reason, however, is that they are going to have *some* effect whether we like it or not. The great thing with new technologies is to use them to your advantage. Otherwise *they* will certainly use you to your disadvantage.

The advantage, in this case, is that there is no longer any physical reason for particular language groups to find themselves divorced from the educational and cultural means of maintaining their language. The most obvious disadvantage is that, unless we are careful, new technology will tend to multiply exposure to dominant languages and majority cultures.

If Canada is to retain her linguistic diversity to any useful extent, we will have to make sure that these very powerful technical innovations *really do* increase the range of individual cultural choices. It is a wonderful thing to have personal control of our access to cultural information. But it will be of little use if that information is standardized at the source.

Conclusion

The future of heritage languages in Canada is a complex one. Not least because, as a recent reviewer of Nobel prize-winner, Czeslaw Milosz, put it: "language and nationality are haunts of the irrational."

All the more reason to review the situation with as much detachment and realism as we can muster. Canada simply cannot afford to disregard its heritage languages – any more than it can afford to sell short on English and French. The reasons, I submit, are quite straightforward.

- these languages, which countless Canadians have brought to this country, are as much a part of our distinctive cultural landscape as Hockey Night or the CPR;
- quite apart from the rich associations they carry with them, they could and should be an inestimable resource to us in business, in diplomacy, in the arts and in plain everyday living.

But to make that resource meaningful we must first define our attitude toward it. At present it might be said that our attitude

is mildly paternalistic. We do not *object* to the use and teaching of the heritage languages. But we have no *positive* vision of their furture, no plan for their development as languages which have much to offer and can pay their way.

I do not have to tell you that this won't do. Either we accept our linguistic heritage wholeheartedly or we might as well forget about it. To my way of thinking, that means looking to the future rather than the past.

It is said that a language, like an animal, needs a well-defined territory of its own to survive. Certainly it helps. But I am inclined to think that the future survival of languages in Canada will depend much more on positive legislation, strong and consistent educational policies, and a readiness to use the new technologies with imagination and flexibility.

To promote a climate of that sort is a very great challenge. But it is not one that is beyond our capacity. A major step in the desired direction is to overcome our linguistic tribalism. We must stop looking on our languages as mutually exclusive. We must look at them as part of a common investment in Canada's future. I see this conference as a significant contribution to that goal, and I thank you for inviting me to be a part of it.

Panel 1

Heritage Language Education: Problems and Possibilities

The opening panel was moderated by Professor Manoly Lupul, Director of the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta. The panel members were: Alberto di Giovanni, Director, Centro Scuola a Cultura Italiana, Toronto; Ida McLeod, Director of the Indian Language Program in the Saskatchewan Indian College, Saskatoon; Catherine Martini, past president of the Alberta School Trustees Association; Dr. P.A. (Tony) Johnstone, Coordinator, Ethnic Services, Nova Scotia Department of Education; and Dr. Mavis G. Burke, Education Officer responsible for implementing the Heritage Languages Program in the Ontario Ministry of Education.

The purpose of the panel was to open up the issues, questions and problems which were pursued in more detail in the workshops. Among the major problems identified by panel members were inadequate curriculum materials for teaching heritage languages and lack of teacher training and professional development opportunities. Several strategies for addressing these problems were suggested; for example, greater cooperation between school boards and community organizations, involvement of universities in research and professional development, and the establishment of a heritage language resource centre to facilitate information exchange and sharing of resources across Canada. The specific problems of orthography and dialect in developing curriculum for Native languages were also highlighted.

Animosity towards the teaching of heritage languages on the part of some school personnel and the general public was also mentioned as a major problem. It was emphasized by several panel members that to counteract this animosity, community organizations and educators must reaffirm the central role of *language* in human development and the importance of language education for all Canadian children.

Alberto di Giovanni

In discussing some of the current problems associated with heritage language education, it is useful to look back to the time before heritage languages were introduced into the public school system. Obviously, I am going to be talking about the experience in Ontario, and in Toronto particularly. We used to run programs either in the afternoon or in the evening and the problems were enormous. Everyday I would receive phone calls from principals complaining about such things as pencils and paper missing. My response was to say that these are *kids* taking heritage language classes and naturally some paper and pencils will get disturbed just the same as with kids during regular hours. This often hadn't occurred to the principals. They were tolerant of what happened during the day but it was a different story when it came to the heritage language program. This indicated a negative attitude from the school authorities towards these programs and towards the fact that community organizations were running the programs.

Thus, it was extremely difficult for community organizations to coordinate these language programs and to develop an effective curriculum. This led to pressure from community groups for the provincial government to take over and finance the teaching of heritage language.

One of the strongest arguments was that multiculturalism did not have any expression unless it was translated into languages. "A culture without language," we used to say, "is mute. There is no life to it."

Finally, after years of exerting pressure on the Minister, the Heritage Languages Pro-

gram was announced. Initially, there was rejoicing among the community groups because they felt that now the programs could be implemented in the proper way and the problems could be resolved. However, we soon found that the problems were just beginning.

First was the fact that this "innovative" program was a part of continuing education. Certainly it was innovative insofar as it must have been the first time that "continuing education" was given to children at the beginning of their educational careers rather than to adults. A second disappointment was that the heritage languages classes were not considered a part of the school program. Later we found out that the teachers had no official status; they weren't called teachers, they were "instructors."Allied to this series of problems was the fact that some boards of education resisted introducing the program.

Notwithstanding all of this the community groups embraced the program because they felt that for the first time something was moving. And the facts have proved them right. Within three years of the program starting, the total number of students enrolled has climbed to over 76,000.

However, a major concern has been program quality. Quality can only be guaranteed by two factors: first, training of teachers or professional development, and second curriculum development, and unfortunately there has been relatively little of either of these.

One way in which we have tried to tackle these problems has been to get together representatives of the boards of education and community organizations so that they could cooperatively develop curriculum and prepare professional development days. This cooperation between community groups and boards of education in the Toronto area has brought very positive results. Of course the changes are not immediate. We don't feel yet that we have reached the stage when we can say we feel very happy about the program. The numbers of students are there but as yet the quality of teaching and implementation is not.

As a first step towards improving the quality of the program there should be a change in the Ontario Education Act and heritage languages should become part of the regular school curriculum as an elective option. We must get away from the idea that children take a language only because they happen to belong to a particular linguistic or cultural group. The reason we teach heritage languages is because language is so important in the development of human minds and in the entire educational process. It is crucial for the success of heritage language programs that we educate people about this point.

If we can convince people about the importance of heritage languages then it might be possible for instructors to have official status within the school system and they would therefore be able to give more to the students. Children would be able to understand that this is not something different from what they are learning during the regular school hours, that it's not something to be done instead of recreation time, for example, in the afternoon when every other child goes home, or on Saturday when their peers go swimming or playing hockey or skating, etc. If heritage languages were taught during regular school hours as an option, then children would understand the importance of language.

It is important to emphasize that you don't have to be of Italian or Portuguese or Greek background to take that language. You take it as a matter of choice in a multicultural pluralistic society. It is only in this way that we can give meaning to the pluralistic component of our society.

The importance of communities and boards of education getting together to develop strategies of cooperation cannot be overemphasized. For example, in the past the community groups used to hire teachers who knew the language perfectly well and were part of that particular community; yet they were a disaster in the classroom because they lacked teaching techniques, they weren't up-to-date with modern methodology and pedagogy, and they didn't have proper supervision. The result was that students resisted attending these classes. Today we see the problem from a different perspective. The teachers are certified and know everything there is to know about methodology and teaching techniques; in short, they are the best people to teach something they do not know, because they do not necessarily know the language and the community.

In summary, for the future success of the program the boards must take total control of the administration and logistics, as they are doing, and the classes must become part of the regular school curriculum. But, most importantly, we must all continue to draw water from that refreshing source which gives life and continuation to life and to culture, namely, the community.

Ida McLeod

The teaching of Indian languages in Saskatchewan started only in 1972. The Indian people were concerned about the loss of their language and they demanded that their languages be recognized in the classrooms of the province. An *ad hoc* committee was set up in the University of Saskatchewan with representatives from the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, the Department of Education, the University of Saskatchewan, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the Saskatchewan Teachers Federation and the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association. This *ad hoc* committee hired me in 1972 to start the program of teaching Indian

languages in Saskatchewan. My qualifications for this position were that I was a fluent speaker of the Cree language, I had a teaching certificate and also a few courses in linguistics. Initially, I found the task extremely difficult because my training was limited so it was necessary to start from scratch.

We started with six classrooms in the fall of 1972. We couldn't find teachers who had teaching certificates and so we had to recruit our language instructors from the communities where the languages are spoken and then train them. The first training course was of one week duration. Prior to the training course I gave myself a crash course in language teaching methods. I took a trip to Alberta where they had already started teaching Indian languages and I got some ideas from there. However, one of the major problems I encountered was that there was a dearth of material on this topic in the libraries in Saskatchewan so it was difficult to find information.

The six instructors who started teaching in September 1972 had no experience as teachers and no training apart from the five days I gave them. Our initial tasks were to train people, provide curriculum, and supervise the teaching in the classrooms. My program at the Cultural College still functions in the areas of curriculum development, classroom supervision and training of language instructors.

Another problem we faced was that of orthography. We started with Cree because more people in Saskatchewan spoke that language than any other Indian language. We tried to use materials that had been developed in Alberta and Manitoba but we soon discovered that different orthographies were in use in these areas. People involved in Cree instruction from Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba met over a period of two years to try and standardize the writing of Cree so that we could share our classroom materials. With the help of Chris Wolfhardt, a linguist from the University of Manitoba, we standardized our orthography.

We have also had to deal with the problem of lack of recognition for our languages. People in school systems do not see the importance of the Indian languages. The same has been true in universities. I have been teaching Cree for 10 years at this university and it wasn't called Cree, it was called Anthropology. But thank goodness, for the first time this year it is recognized as a language. I think that we are now really beginning to make progress insofar as school systems are beginning to recognize Indian languages for credit.

We must also overcome problems of lack of instructors and lack of adequate funding. Obviously, we need fluent speakers of the language to be able to teach it. As far as funding is concerned, we have a five year contract with the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs which ends in April 1982. We have to search for funding to continue our program after that date.

I would like to mention some of the possibilities for the future. There are five Indian languages in Saskatchewan: Cree, Saulteaux, Chippyean, Assinaboine and Dakota. We have developed curriculum for Cree and Saulteaux in kindergarten (K), grades 1 and 2 and for Assinaboine we have started in K and grade 1. One of the possibilities we would like to pursue in our contract is to develop curricula for all grades in these five languages. Right now we have 41 Cree classrooms, five Chippyean, two Dakota, one Assinaboine and five Saulteaux classrooms in Saskatchewan.

We are very fortunate in Saskatchewan insofar as all our classrooms are coordinated and we do not work in isolated groups. When I go to other provinces I find much less coordination in the teaching of Indian languages. Most people are working in small isolated groups.

Another issue is the lack of recognition in our teaching training programs of the linguistic and cultural diversity of our province. Our teachers are being trained to teach only one group of children. For example, teachers seldom recognize that Cree-speaking children may have academic problems in English due to the fact that English is their second language. It is extremely important to provide educators with more understanding of this issue.

Catherine Martini

To begin with, I must clarify the term heritage languages, which in my understanding encompasses those languages spoken by the diverse groups of people who make up the Canadian mosaic, i.e. the various languages of the Native communities as well as French, English, Ukrainian, German, etc. From a previously somewhat soporific attitude towards other languages, the Canadian people have developed an awareness of the significance of their cultural heritages and the value of languages other than English in the education of their young people. The late '60s and early '70s saw a rising demand for instruction in French and some other heritage languages in heretofore English-speaking Alberta and in many other provinces. The causes may have been rooted initially in federal employment policies (for French at least), maybe in a few instances in a kind of intellectual snobbery, but very quickly the reasons for these requests have become more profound and therefore they have moved from a fad to a need.

Some of the problems in delivery of heritage language programs involve: development and adaptation of curriculum appropriate to the differing requirements of each province and differing needs within each school district; meeting the greatly increased demands for qualified teachers;

availability of instructional materials (both print and other media) at reasonable prices; transportation of students.

The Multiculturalism Directorate as well as the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada could play decisive roles in resolving these difficulties. However, it is unfortunate that up to now the meetings of the Council of Ministers appear to have borne only minimal results in language-related areas. The Minister of State for Multiculturalism's services as a mediator and catalyst could play a major role in national coordination of heritage language teaching.

The background to all of these efforts must be an appreciation on the part of government and educational agencies of the importance of language in the development of our children. A language is more than words, it expresses thought, conveys feelings and transmits culture; without this experiential background children will only mouth, parrotlike, words and sentences but will not gain an understanding of the people whose language they speak and their value systems. This need for understanding applies even more to the child who comes from a non-English background. For this youngster there must be a strong cultural foundation in the parental culture and language, and schools must assist in its maintenance. To achieve this goal schools and other agencies involved with children must have ample access to print and other media materials dealing with their children's background cultures so that children can learn and experience the lore of their ethnic background and roots, in order to become a clearly defined tile of the mosaic. If not, the children may grow up not fully belonging to the society of their environment, since they were not born into it, but also not belonging to the culture of their parents, since they often do not speak their language, nor are any of the media to transmit this culture available to them. I have seen many cases of alienation in families because of this language gap; it is not an age gap but a severe *language* gap, even though the parents do speak English. This kind of gap may well be the major factor in the difficulties that our Native peoples encounter in education.

To sum up: the teaching "in" and "of" heritage languages is not only desirable but in many cases a necessity for the emotional and social health of our future society and for the economic growth of our future citizens. The areas of teacher supply, teacher training and retraining will have to be addressed now, and the support services need strong attention. If we believe in the Canadian mosaic then we have to do all in our power to accommodate any other culture within this mosaic and to strengthen everything that will prevent assimilation.

Tony Johnstone

A national conference on the status and potential of heritage languages across Canada at this time inevitably acquires special significance for at least these, among other reasons: first, the dire need for nation-building and for strengthening our national fibre, an issue of widespread concern in Canada today; second, the urgent responsibility that we begin, as an independent self-determining nation, to chart our own course toward some preferred national future; and third, the possibilities and the promise of language in general, and of heritage languages in particular, as contributors to the solution of pressing current problems in this domain. For me, then, this is *not* just another conference of specialists or of people with special concerns.

What this reunion represents for me, instead, is an opportunity to use the past to help in creating the future. If we examine closely our last 10 years of experience of heritage language teaching and learning, we can acquire insights which can provide direction to our present and future goal-seeking activities in this domain. More than ever before, we now need to answer, both individually and collectively, these questions as Canadians: Who are we? What are we living for? Why do we live together in Canada? Who or what do we want to become (as individuals, provinces, nation or world citizens)? Some understanding of how we came to be the way we are now can help us to move effectively into our chosen future. Without answers to these questions, effective planning is impossible.

The criteria for choosing between alternative personal and national directions emanate from values and belief-systems which, in turn, originate in culture. In the absence of systematic attempts to define ourselves culturally, adequate planning in such important areas as economic policy or educational strategies remains beyond our reach, because we do not yet know what is best for us or what we prefer, not to mention why we prefer it. The primacy of culture, and its capacity to facilitate our deciding whatever is best for us to do, remains largely unrecognized in Canada. Though difficult, solving this problem of cultural self-definition would open up tremendous possibilities for future self-determination and self-reliance.

Learning to understand and to trust ourselves is essential to our future self-determination and self-reliance. Language can play a major role in this process of understanding ourselves because of its special relationship with culture. Language enculturation takes us beyond immediate reality into the past and the future, the physically inaccessible, and the imaginary world as well as the domain of such mental constructs as change and justice. It also facilitates communication between the living and the dead as well as among contemporaries. It helps us to share the historic memory of a given linguistic or cultural group so that, by sharing their past, we better understand their present. In a word, more

than ever today, language allows us to break through the boundaries of life span, of physical size, and of geographical limitations.

These insights suggest that we as educators can develop better persons and more effective citizens, improve social interaction within our society, and perhaps even contribute to the creation of a world community, by extending the range of our students' capacity to communicate, and by increasing the cohesion among the ethnocultural groups which comprise our present national community. This contribution of language to the accumulation of wisdom is the positive side of the story.

Language, however, can also be used to perpetuate grudges. It can be used to reduce understanding, to narrow contacts, and to elicit negative feelings. It can generate individual disorientation through confusion, and it can create or worsen societal disorder. In other words, like knowledge, language can be used for good or evil. So, we must concern ourselves with how to encourage its positive use in the process of social interaction. One more point concerning the importance of language to society and its relevance to heritage language issues seems worth making. This involves the relationship between language and religion, one of the most powerful aspects of culture, and one which we sometimes neglect, in the process of trying to implement or promote multiculturalism. In addition to ethical customs and religious beliefs generally taught by parents and the ethnocultural group to ensure the internalization of acceptable social behavior, the reading of particular scriptures is often essential to adequate understanding of systematized tenets of belief in several religious groups. Transmission of religious convictions, therefore, is often inextricably interwoven not just with language, but with specific aspects of language, such as reading. This links ethnocultural survival with literacy, even when, as with some aboriginal people, literacy involves less graphic phenomena and more ideographic or acoustical ones, depending upon the preferred elements of communication within the particular culture in question. Given the prevalence and power of religion as a behavioral guide, this relationship between religion and language would seem to add an important dimension to heritage languages.

Let me turn now from the importance of the relationship between language and society to some facts related to heritage language teaching and learning in the Atlantic region in general and in Nova Scotia in particular. Information about heritage language programs in the Atlantic region is both difficult to get and rather sketchy. In New Brunswick, schools teaching at least three languages, Greek, Danish and Chinese, are known to have been in existence in 1979-80. In Prince Edward Island, Arabic classes have been in existence for more than a year. In Newfoundland, Punjabi and Chinese schools were known to exist in 1977-78, but the only information I have been able to obtain about them are their names. In addition, however, details are available regarding existing German, Sanskrit and Hindi schools. The German school, in operation for seven years now, includes three classes with a total of 36 students, and two teachers. The Sanskrit and Hindi school, in operation for five years, includes five classes totalling 64 students, with two teachers. Thus, there are at least 100 students learning heritage languages in eight classes for four teachers in Newfoundland and Labrador. We hope to update our information as we improve our record keeping and reporting.

In Nova Scotia, there are nine heritage languages being taught in 13 schools, by 40 teachers, to 714 students. The languages are Portuguese, Greek, Italian (2), Ukrainian, Hebrew (2), Arabic (3), Hindi, Mandarin and Cantonese, and Gaelic. These schools vary considerably in age, ranging in existence from one year to 25 years (Hebrew) or 40 years (Arabic/Lebanese). Thus, many of these schools predate the promulgation of the multiculturalism policy, in some cases by as much as 15 or 30 years. This brief sketch, however, does not include the highly problematic areas of the Micmac language, and accompanying issues of aboriginal education throughout the Atlantic Region and Gaspe Peninsula.

Finally, which problems and possibilities seem most worth exploring, since we cannot do everything at once? Since our interest in heritage languages is primarily related to their capacity to contribute to our society's survival and improvement, a *priority question* for us at this time must be: "How best can we use heritage language education to improve the quality of our lives?" A *second* question is the following: "In a province which prioritizes economic development, and which seeks to maximize self-reliance, what role should heritage language education play in the achievement of the chosen societal goals?" A *third* question must necessarily be: "In older communities, with languages lost but many aspects of several cultures retained, how best can we clarify or strengthen identity, improve societal interaction, and achieve societal aims?" *Fourth*, how best can heritage language education contribute to Canadian self-definition, cooperative goalseeking, and ethnocultural plurality?" *Fifth*: "How best can heritage language education help to resolve potential conflicts between ethnic identity and national identity?"

The search for answers to such questions should help us to determine the role of heritage languages, in Nova Scotia and Canada, both now and in the near future. The search must be shared by governments, educators, and the public. Our survival cannot be postponed.

Mavis G. Burke

Although mother-tongue statistics for Canada in census years 1971 and 1976 indicate the range and diversity of ancestral languages claimed across the country, and the conclusion of a recent census analysis[1] is that language groups other than English, French and the Native peoples, "do not have a true Canadian linguistic existence."This conclusion is based on the fact that these languages showed little continuity as home language and that heritage language speakers appeared to be "very quickly losing the use of their language of origin, most often in favor of English."

It is difficult to accept this conclusion without reservations. There are many other indices of language retention besides the language of the home, and the evidence suggests that many heritage language groups in Ontario have clung to these channels of communication with a high degree of tenacity. For many persons, religious observances conducted in the language and traditions of the old country provide regular exposure to language and culture. Weddings, funerals and regular church services continue to be held in the heritage language. Cultural activities and associations[2] renew language links, as do special shopping facilities. In Ontario, radio and television broadcasts[3] in 44 different heritage languages reach across the province to as many localities, and the ethnic press exerts its own influence.

Perceptions of minority languages are critical factors in decision making, and in the same way that there may be a climate of opinion that refuses the support necessary to effective implementation of official bilingualism, attitudes to languages other than English and French will affect the policies adopted to facilitate heritage language education. Because there are dilemmas inherent in the promotion of official bilingualism and a multicultural state, the problems of heritage language education may appear insoluble if the issue is limited to the political perspective.

Both supporters and opponents of heritage language education have tended to frame their arguments in terms of the 'right to language.' The former interpret multicultural as synonymous with multilingual, whereas the latter maintain the prior rights of the founding people, sometimes conceding that other ethnocultural groups should assume financial responsibility for preservation of heritage language and culture, without recourse to the Canadian taxpayer. In terms of education, there has been relatively little emphasis on language capability as an asset to the community or a contributor to the well-being and educational potential of the student. Emphasis on the political dimension has created a vacuum which requires the adoption of new approaches if heritage language education is to gain universal acceptance.

The purposes of heritage language education need to be clarified and research undertaken to ensure that expectations are achievable and methods appropriate. In Ontario, the Heritage Languages Program for elementary school students has the following purposes in helping students to maintain and develop their ability to read, write and speak heritage languages in order to:

- enhance students' concepts of themselves and their heritage
- improve communication with parents and grandparents
- prepare students to use heritage languages in the Canadian content
- provide a basis for language learning that may be pursued for credit courses at high school level
- provide opportunities for students to use skills and concepts they already possess, in the education process
- encourage all students to develop new language skills that will help them to live in Canada's multicultural environment and to interact with the international community.[4]

The sharing of this rationale for heritage language education with the dominant language group would help to highlight educational benefits to the individual learner, to minority group families and to the wider community. Few innovations in education have affected relations between parents of heritage language students and the schools as directly, or with as positive results, as has Ontario's Heritage Languages Program. On the oher hand, a great deal remains to be done in dispelling fears that students will be paying less attention to becoming functional in the official languages of Canada. The language issue continues to generate a certain degree of conflict and animosity and the heritage language community will have to develop more systematic procedures to resolve some of the perceptions that arise out of this situation.

Without detracting from the commitment to the 'right to language,' and the desire for preservation of group memory in the case of lost homelands, other arguments should be explored in order to involve the dominant language groups in heritage language education. The 'critical mass' necessary for linguistic and cultural pres-

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1. R. Lachapelle, "Evolution of Ethnic and Linguistic Composition" in R. Breton, J.G. Reitz and V.F. Valentine, *Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada*, (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980) p. 36.
2. Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, *Ethnocultural Directory of Ontario, 1980-81*, (Toronto, Ontario, 1981).
3. Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, *Broadcasting Guide to Programs for Ethnocultural Communities in Ontario*, (Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario, 1981).
4. Ontario Ministry of Education, Fact Sheet: *Ontario's Heritage Languages Program*, (Toronto, Ontario, 1981).

ervation will not be achieved without new approaches. It has been observed with reference to the study of one heritage language[5] that "a negative by-product of multiculturalism has been the partial identification of Italian as an ethnic language to be learned and maintained by people of Italian origin, but not really a 'proper' school language for other students."

This limited approach to language study should be expanded, and a language capability such as exists in Canada should be viewed as a valuable asset for the country in the international areas of business and foreign policy. Systematic education in the heritage languages can meet the new needs becoming evident in the increasing number of employment opportunities in Ontario requiring new language skills. Utilitarian purposes of language learning have not been fully recognized even in Ontario where at present the elementary schools are providing 2,000 part-time jobs for persons teaching heritage language classes, and hospitals, offices and social service agencies need interpreters, translators and staff at various levels with heritage language capability.

The ways in which these languages are perceived will have a bearing on the future of heritage language education and its application. For example, some languages have a traditional place in education and the respectability necessary to subjects of instruction for secondary school credit, but others have yet to achieve this status. In Ontario, the traditional hierarchy of modern languages has been accepted for many years for authorized guideline courses. Languages other than German, Greek, Italian, Russian and Spanish have more recently been permitted as experimental courses for secondary school credit. At the present time, new ministry curriculum guidelines are being developed to remove the notion of non-traditional courses being experimental, although the concept of universally applicable modern language guidelines may prove difficult to articulate. The challenge of accommodating a large number of non-traditional languages in the secondary school system will have to be faced by Ontario schools as the system seeks to respond to the impetus of the elementary school program by providing continuity in heritage language learning as subjects of instruction.

The Education Act, 1974, permits the use of languages other than English and French for transitional purposes if students do not understand one of the official languages of Canada. This commonsense provision, intended to adjust the school's program to meet the needs of the student, was introduced to assist newcomers entering Ontario schools. However, a substantial number of students born in Ontario enter school without a knowledge of English or French. The problem is that only limited use has been made of the transitional provision, which requires bilingual teachers capable of using the child's first language while introducing the language of the school. The successful Toronto kindergarten model studies by Purbhoo and Shapson,[6] and the experimental Greek and Chinese bilingual/bicultural programs were not adopted by other jurisdictions. The issue of bilingualism has not been interpreted in the Ontario situation as affecting heritage languages; the term is used to refer to English and French only. Use of heritage languages as languages of instruction has not received serious consideration although a limited number of ethnocultural groups – Latvian, Armenian, and Ukrainian – have raised the possibility of alternative schools based on the heritage language. Private Member's Bills in 1978 and 1980 proposed a reorientation of educational provisions in Ontario to provide unilingual heritage language schools with English or French as subjects of study. Public reaction in the press to the idea of making this kind of change has been vehement in opposition.

It can be argued that unlike the children of immigrant workers in Europe, students are not being prepared to return to another country, and should not be deprived of the opportunity to develop language skills that will equip them to live and work as Canadians. Alternative language-based schools would in most cases have to recruit students from across school areas, requiring busing, whereas the traditional concept in Ontario is the neighborhood school, with school programs adjusted to meet the needs of the school community. Even in schools in which there are over 70% of students from the same language group, there has been conflict with parents who do not want their children to learn that language as a course of study during the school day. A flexible program will be required to meet different needs – of newcomers concerned about fluency in the new language, of small language groups committed to group survival, and of other groups still adjusting to settlement needs in the second generation. However, it would be difficult to obtain widespread support for separation of Ontario school students into language groups for the duration of their school career.[7] It seems likely that other solutions will have to be found.

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5. B. Chandler, "Italian and the Community" in A. Mollica, (ed.), *A Handbook for Teachers of Italian*, (Don Mills, Ontario: American Association of Teachers of Italian, 1976) p. 210.

6. M. Purbhoo, and S. Shapson, *Transition from Italian* (Toronto: Board of Education for the City of Toronto, 1975).

7. "Schools Building a Tower of Babel," *The Windsor Star*, May 10, 1980; "Educational Balkanization," *Hamilton Spectator*, *May 12, 1980*; "Ethnic Folly," *Toronto Sun*, May 21, 1980; "Don't Fragment Schools," *Toronto Star*, June 2, 1980.

The Ministry of Education to date facilitates rather than legislates the adoption of heritage language education.[8] In a decentralized system with elected school trustees there are no easy answers to conflict between parent groups and school boards about offering programs. Heritage language groups tend to appeal directly to the ministry rather than making strong representations to their school boards, and ethnocultural communities have had to develop leadership skills in providing support to parent groups in approaching school boards. Many school boards operating heritage language classes report that parents have developed a keen interest in the program and maintain closer links with the school. However, problems have arisen when there are divisions within the community group. The evidence suggests that although liaison arrangements between school boards and communities can contribute significantly to heritage language education in the formal education system, it can also bring school boards into direct contact with the dynamics of language groups. This can create problems because the more than 60 school boards in Ontario now offering elementary school heritage language classes have little relevant experience in this type of decision making.

Programming for the 44 different languages involved in the 1979-80 program[9] provides a number of difficulties. Whereas the customary 'third language' terminology may have been regarded as politically accurate, in many cases the language is the first language of the student. In its first three years the program has had to meet the needs of both native and non-native speakers with little preparation for adjustment of curriculum and methodology or accommodation of different dialects of minority languages.

Developing programs for the Canadian context has been problematic, as most learning materials are obtained from outside Canada. Preparation of new materials and structuring consecutive learning experiences is one of the most difficult features of planning for new language classes. Expertise is limited, preparation is time-consuming and production is costly. A heritage language resource centre would provide a worthwhile service of information exchange and sharing of resources across Canada. It seems wasteful to have every school jurisdiction struggling with introductory Cantonese or beginner's Ukrainian, instead of finding ways to cooperate and move ahead on other needs. The provincial government and the federal government both have limited programs of financial assistance to encourage development of materials and cooperation should be possible.

The process of developing heritage language programs has had a number of unexpected outcomes. For example, there is the issue of the balance of content between religion, culture and language. Foreign government representatives have also taken an interest in these language programs, some being willing to provide school boards with materials. The stress on language rather than culture as criterion for the program has caused concern in the Black community, which has opted for a Black cultural heritage program rather than a language program but shares the objectives of the latter and would like to operate under the same provisions.

A major problem that remains to be resolved is the relationship between the formal education system and community-based language schools. The institutional preference documented in the non-official languages study[10] indicated that the 10 ethnic groups surveyed would prefer the public system rather than the ethnic schools to provide heritage language education for their children. There have been instances in which ethnic schools have made representations for recognition of their graduates for secondary school credit on the basis that they have had immersion programs for longer periods and with greater depth than offered by the secondary schools. The possibilities for cooperation may have to be explored further in the light of declining school enrolment. In *Issues and Directions*,[11] the ministry's response to the Report on Declining Enrolment, it was accepted that alternative modes of program planning and delivery would be explored to ensure continuity for heritage language courses. The need for action was highlighted by the report that "third" language teachers were convinced that declining enrolment "will kill third language programs, except in those areas where large immigrant groups will support them."[12] The ministry has undertaken to review the need for long-term development of heritage language studies in schools at all levels.

If heritage language education is to achieve its greatest potential, there are urgent needs for research, consultative services and teacher education on a scale that will require new resources as well as a reorientation of traditional Canadian approaches to language learning. This cannot be realized without the necessary funding. It is interesting to note that the

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8. Ontario Ministry of Education, Memorandum 1976-77: 46.
9. Ontario Ministry of Education, *Enrolment in Heritage Languages Program, School Year 1979-80*, Statistical Information Systems Branch, 1980.
10. K.G. O'Bryan, J.G. Reitz, and D.M. Kuplowska, *Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism*, (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976).
11. Ontario Ministry of Education/Ministry of Colleges and Universities, *Issues and Directions: The Response to The Final Report of the Commission on Declining School Enrolments in Ontario*, (Toronto, 1980) pp. 72,73.
12. M. Hainsworth, *Reports on Second and Third Languages* (Working Paper No. 37, Commission on Declining School Enrolments in Ontario, 1978).

1976 non-official languages study reported respondents' opinion that heritage language classes should be funded by the parents and the ethnic group rather than by the Canadian taxpayer. The Government of Ontario paid school boards $15 million to provide language classes for a total enrolment of 195,710 elementary school students during the first three years of the program. Parents now regard this as their due as Canadian taxpayers and compare the level and mode of funding to the financing available for French language education. The Native people in Ontario have made their own case for education in Native languages.

However, without the support and leadership of the universities, heritage language education will not be able to ensure that expectations will be adequately met. Rivers calls for "The Revolution Now: Revitalizing The University Language Department."[13] A strong case is made for universities to respond to the "appraisal of language-related career opportunities, as well as the value that local communities place on developing the multilingual and multicultural potential of their young people." Effective design, delivery and evaluation of programs depend on development of a cadre of trained and certificated teachers, making use of all available technology and resources. The supporting environment of libraries and resource personnel provided by the ethnocultural community will be needed to sustain and complement the efforts of the education system to create a truly Canadian context for languages other than English, French and those of the Native peoples. In Ontario, the ethnic press, radio and television can begin to contribute to this experience. Finally, federal and provincial governments can explore avenues of cooperation, such as summer schools, with a commitment to treating the language and culture of all peoples with respect, and recognizing that "language is not only a means of communication, but also an expression of a people's culture and identity."[14]

Panel 2

Strategies for Cooperation

The second panel was moderated by Professor Jamshed Mavalwala, Professor of Anthropology, University of Toronto. The panel members were David Wilman, Consultant both for Classroom Assistant and Teacher Training and Bilingual Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, Frobisher Bay; Fiona Pelech, past-president Alberta Ethnic Language Teacher's Association; Miriam di Giuseppe, ESL and Heritage Language Coordinator, Toronto Board of Education; and Peter L. McCreath, Executive Assistant for Professional Development, Nova Scotia Teacher's Union.

This panel took place on the final day of the conference and was intended to synthesize the strategies for cooperation which had emerged in the course of the workshops and regional caucus meetings of the previous two days. The sense of community and purpose which the conference participants shared at this final session was expressed by the moderator in his introductory remarks.

Jamshed Mavalwala (Moderator)

This conference during the past few days has clearly shown that we are a multilingual country which gives us a great deal of pleasure in sharing with each other. Our diversity is our national treasure, not our national problem.

During this conference a series of common threads emerged and certain themes kept recurring. I'm beginning to think that we sat here and listened to a Bach cantata or a raga in the Indian tradition, where the theme is replayed with variations, and the music enhances the basic theme. The panelists will bring you the themes that have reappeared, so let me tell you the things that struck home to me. These struck home not so much because they were intellectual, but because they were emotional. What gives me real pleasure is that for the first time in this country at the national level, people were brought together and felt free to speak from the heart, and not only from the head. Think of the significance of the statements that came from the hearts of the people: "Canada is a land in ignorance of itself;" "Schools should not make children strangers in their own homes;" "Even the richest soil must be cultivated to produce;" and from a quiet member of our community in these few days, "A culture without language is mute ;" "A people live in their language;" "There is a difference between teaching a language and teaching in that language;" and the last one that struck home to me very powerfully, was that "cooperation is power."

David Wilman

In this talk what I want to do is to try and put some structure to what I've heard in the meetings during the past two or three days. We've heard repeatedly in the sessions that research findings suggest that bilingual education enhances not only our children's language ability, but also their general academic achievement; that ability in two or more languages is not only socially and culturally significant, it's an academically attractive option; and that it's a national resource which we must foster. We can't afford to let it go. Further, given that we have this considerable body of evidence in support of bilingual or multilingual approaches to

13. W. Rivers, "The Revolution Now: Revitalizing the University Language Departments," in *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 37 (1981) p. 450.

14. Ontario Ministry of Education, *Race, Religion and Culture in Ontario School Materials* (Toronto, Ontario, 1980) p. 25.

education, as professional educators (and I include all of us in that category), we have a professional responsibility, and hence a moral responsibility, to proceed in this direction. The evidence is there; we cannot ignore it.

I have tried to synthesize what I've heard in the form of a paradigm, which suggests that to have multicultural education, or heritage language education, you need first of all a policy, secondly a structure, and lastly, practice. You will notice that the dotted arrow going across is fairly strong under the policy column, but not quite complete, and it gets weaker under the structure column, and very weak under the practice column. This is the picture that I get of heritage language education in Canada today.

Let me elaborate on these points. Beginning with legislation, some regions, for example, the prairie provinces and the Northwest Territories have legislation which gives language communities the right to education in their own languages as an integral part of the daily school program. What is needed in other provinces is similar enabling legislation which would allow local groups and language communities flexibility to implement the sort of language programs they want within the school system.

Turning to structure, there are certain things that are necessary to implement the programs once the policies are established. My main interest, and therefore the first thing I've listed, is teacher training for Native speakers of the language; in other words, the generation of teachers from within the various language communities. The second is an idea that has been discussed in many of the workshops during the seminar, namely, national or regional heritage language resource centres. These centres would be responsible for the production and dissemination of information and materials to parents and communities who sometimes resist heritage language programs, largely because they misunderstand the nature of bilingualism and multilingualism. The last item under structure is intergovernmental cooperation, not just between the provincial governments and Ottawa, but also between local and provincial governments. Obviously, I have left many items out but I think that these three aspects of structure, namely teacher training, heritage language resource centres, and intergovernmental cooperation, are critical to the success of multilingual programs in Canada.

We come to the practice, and in reality in Canada today, bilingual or multilingual education occurs only in very few classrooms, in very few schools, in only some language communities, and in only some provinces.

In summary I have suggested that the policy in Canada on multilingual education is only partial, the structure is weak to nonexistent, and the practice is often questionable. This is clearly a sorry state of affairs. The goal of this conference should be, I think, to choose a new direction so that we can eventually have all three aspects of the paradigm in place. Our task is to ensure that we develop and use our national multilingual, multicultural resource for the betterment of every aspect of life in this fascinating country. By pooling our expertise and cooperating amongst ourselves we can achieve this goal.

Fiona Pelech

When I was first asked to take part in this panel, I decided that the best way to contribute would be to inform the rest of Canada about what goes on in our province of Alberta. However, first it is worth noting that multilingualism and multiculturalism is not just a Canadian issue – it's an international issue. For example, many of the questions raised in a recent Australian report "**Perspectives on Multi-**

Heritage Language Education in Canada Today

Policy

Legislation

To enable all language communities to develop and teach programs in regular school time.

Flexibility to allow local, provincial, and regional control of language programs.

Structure

Among many other things support structures must include:

Teacher Training with the priority being the generation of teachers from within the various language communities.

Curriculum & Material Development preferably through Heritage Language Resource Centres which would also disseminate material and information.

Intergovernmental/Interdepartmental Cooperation to facilitate all required developments.

Practice

Once enabling legislation and structures are present, implementation at a local level must be **mandatory** where parents/communities wish it.

In reality it is now only
- in some schools
- in some language communities
- in some provinces

and only at some times.

cultural Education"[1] prepared by the Committee on Multicultural Education of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council in 1979, are the same as those we have been discussing at this conference.

Since 1974-75 ethnocultural language schools in Alberta have received financial assistance through the Language Support Program operated by Alberta Culture. In the first year of this program 13 language schools with a total enrollment of 1,158 received a grant of $15 per student. In 1979-80, 79 schools with an enrollment of 4,651 received a grant of $22 per student. Thus, there has been considerable growth during a period of five years.[2]

This growth has been fostered by the Alberta Ethnic Language Teachers Association (AELTA), incorporated in August 1978. The impetus for the establishment of the AELTA came from the first Ethnocultural Language Teachers' Seminar sponsored by the Cultural Heritage Branch of Alberta Culture in March 1977. Among other things, the AELTA has organized workshops on teaching methods for teachers in ethnocultural schools, compiled information and, in general, pressed for better language learning opportunities for all Albertans.

A recent report for the Edmonton Public School System written by Dr. Bruce Bain, Department of Educational Psychology, University of Alberta, entitled: "English as a Second Language Needs Assessment" identified three current movements relevant to language teaching for ethnocultural communities:

- the thrust of the English as a Second Language movement is to teach English to those who need it to economically survive;
- the thrust of the heritage language movement is to ensure that ancestral languages and cultural values do not get extinguished in the process of economic assimilation;
- the thrust of the Native movement is to be a part of the majority culture linguistically and economically, and to participate with dignity and respect in their traditional Native languages and mores.

To develop the ideas in these three movements through programming, teacher training, etc., is a challenge to our educational institutions. Some of the ways we might consider to meet this challenge are considered below.

Because in today's global atmosphere the importance of knowing several languages cannot be over emphasized, why not establish a Canada Language Council to study the total Canadian language situation and help Canadians become multilingual? In addition, language councils could be set up at provincial and local levels. A national newsletter would also make a tremendous contribution to coordination and communication in relation to language teaching. For example, such a newsletter could publicize recent findings on bilingual or immersion approaches to language teaching which are considered to be highly effective. The language councils which I have proposed could address the need for qualified personnel to prepare the kind of programs necessary for different proficiency levels in the target languages.

I would like to endorse the idea of language centres, one of which has already been established in Regina. These would be public schools vacated because of declining enrollments which would be adapted to house ethnocultural language classes. These classes would be there for the whole year so that materials etc. would not be constantly brought in and out.

Finally, I would like to bring to your attention an especially encouraging development in Alberta, namely, the *Report of the Task Force in Second Languages* presented to the Senate of the University of Alberta in May 1981. This report provides strong endorsement of second language teaching at all levels and recommends that university faculties consider reintroducing second language requirements. Among its recommendations is one directed to Alberta Culture and the Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, which states:

> *It is recommended that governmental support of the non-credit language programs throughout the province, e.g. "Saturday Schools," be increased, with a view to better preserving our multicultural heritage.*

The time to act is now. Although much work has already been done, we need a national committee to establish lines of communication and to coordinate the work in each province.

Miriam di Giuseppe

In my brief remarks this morning, I would like to incorporate my thoughts on heritage languages with the themes that have emerged during the conference. To me the crucial question before us is the following: How can all children in Canada, regardless of their ethnocultural heritage, have access to and benefit from the language or languages of their choice as an added enrichment to the two official languages of Canada?

In order to keep the multilingual resource of Canada alive, we must have some very clear directions for the future. The first of these directions, I believe, must be open-

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1. Available from Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Belconnen, ACT 26 16, Australia.
2. More detailed statistics about language programs in Alberta can be found in Fiona Pelech, "Heritage Language Programs in Alberta," presented at the Central and East European Community Conference ("Roots, Aspirations, Progress, and Realities") March 1980.

ing lines of communication and cooperation at all levels: for example, between and among community groups, local parents, school boards, provincial ministries of education, and the federal government. We need to design communication and cooperation strategies that will establish and emphasize the quality of heritage language programs. The following is necessary: programs must meet the needs and interests of both students and communities; instructors must be knowledgeable and trained; and curriculum and teaching materials must be accessible and useful. These goals cannot be achieved without an organized plan for cooperation towards which, hopefully, this conference will be a first step.

The following appear to me to be the most important issues on which we need to cooperate: first, we need a clearly stated policy and legislation with regard to languages other than English and French, a policy which will ensure that all children have access, wherever feasible, to heritage languages as a valid and useful part of the regular school curriculum at all grade levels.

Second, there is a need for teacher training, both pre-service training before teachers come into the heritage language program, and in-service training, after they are already teachers in the program. An example of cooperation at many levels in regard to teacher training is the annual heritage language symposium we have conducted in Toronto for the past few years. The symposium is initiated by a community group, funded by the Secretary of State and implemented with the assistance of several boards of education.

A third need involves the development and exchange of relevant curriculum materials. Examples of cooperation in this type of development and dissemination are the sharing of materials for Ukrainian programs in the prairie provinces, the development of a series of Italian textbooks in Toronto funded by the Secretary of State, and many other instances of curriculum materials developed by the boards of education with the assistance of communities. It is crucial that educators and community groups support each other because each has expertise in specific areas. One way of facilitating the sharing of materials across regional areas, which has been mentioned on several occasions during the conference, would be to establish a clearinghouse which would make an inventory of available materials and disseminate them across the country.

A fourth point to emphasize is the need to follow-up this conference at the regional and local level. This follow-up, in fact, has already started with the formation of regional committees which, hopefully, will develop lines of communication and cooperation and work towards the establishment of resource centres or teacher information centres.

My last point is the need to carry our message from this conference to educators at all levels, to the communities, both minority language and English and French-speaking communities, and to governments, provincial and federal, that the teaching of heritage languages is not only a goodwill gesture towards the ethnocultural communities, but that it is an educationally sound and beneficial activity which fosters our national resource of multilingualism.

Peter L. McCreath

What I would like you to do is to step back a little bit and broaden your focus by taking a look at Canada and where Canada may be going. When I was asked to participate in this panel and was told that the subject was "Strategies for Cooperation," my first question was cooperation at what level? Does this mean cooperation between ethnocultural groups, cooperation between those groups and the agencies that are involved in curriculum decision making and the delivery of educational services, cooperation between the public and the private sector, cooperation between the federal government and the provincial governments, who knows, cooperation even between provinces? Of course I was told, "They're all up for grabs." And of course the reason is that we must address them all because multiculturalism cuts across all the dimensions of Canada. And I think the diversity of people at this conference reflects the complexity and the pervasiveness of multiculturalism. Therefore what we have to do is to seek to cooperate in order to find a commonality of goals. And we're going to need goals at the national, regional, and local levels. I think we're approaching a time where Canadians must decide how they wish to pursue their history. We have two routes ahead of us. We can use the one that, it seems to me as an Atlantic Canadian, we have used for the last hundred or so years, and that is decision making by the principle of power, where the wishes of the powerful subsume the wishes of the small and the not-so-powerful. I could argue at great length, though you might think I was a maritime separatist if I did, that this has been the Canadian way for some time. I think there is an alternative route ahead, and that's a strategy of cooperation, wherein the wishes and the needs of all Canadians are considered and somehow reasonably accommodated. This means seeking to maintain a delicate balance between reality and sensitivity. For those of us who do represent small communities have to realize that the majority too, has its rights.

What cooperation means is that there must be compromise. Compromise means you're going to get something, but it also means you have to give something. And not just the little and the small and the far away have to do the giving, everybody does. It means the needs and wishes of cultural and regional minorities must be considered as important as those of the

majority. The people in the Yukon, northwestern Ontario, and Nova Scotia must be seen as being as important in their aspirations as are the people of the St. Lawrence Valley, or more recently Alberta. We must be sensitive to the implications of cultural diversity in all its dimensions, not just language, including such things as values, learning styles, family life patterns. We must accept that multiculturalism is not only a reality in Canada, but that it is an important dimension of Canada. And furthermore, in coming from a part of Canada which has been dominated by the Anglo-Celtic tradition for some 300 plus years, I would emphasize that we here today must accept the responsibility to disseminate knowledge of multiculturalism to those who do not accept it as a reality of Canada. And in some regions of the country those people are in the majority. In doing this, we must demonstrate that multiculturalism is not a threat to anyone as it is perceived to be by some Canadians.

Now if we want to seek to pursue a strategy of cooperation, we must realistically recognize that there are barriers to cooperation. First of all, acceptance and perception of multiculturalism varies from region to region, from community to community. It's only in the last year or so since I've become involved in working in multicultural programs that I've thought to myself that I have to rediscover my own heritage. Many generations ago my family came from Scotland, but if I were asked to present myself in an ancestral context, I would do as I did this morning with my Nova Scotia tie.

More specifically, with respect to education, we must recognize that the British North American Act does in fact pose a problem, because under our constitutional system, the provinces have the mandate to provide educational services, but as we are becoming increasingly aware, the federal government has the money. The Secretary of State has no mandate to deal directly with departments of education who have the principal mandate for the delivery of the educational service in Canada. I was encouraged in the group yesterday when somebody from Secretary of State in Saskatchewan said that actually they work very closely with the provincial government. We work closely in cooperation with the various agencies, federal and provincial, in Atlantic Canada, but the federal government can't walk into the Department of Education and say "Let's sit down and do business." It doesn't work that way.

Third point I want to make: multiculturalism and heritage language education involve more than just the traditional agencies involved in public education, school boards, home and schools, departments of education. There are often problems of communication between ethnocultural groups on the one hand, and these educational agencies. Sometimes ethnocultural groups, as we've heard at this conference, don't understand how education works, the intricacies of curriculum development, evaluation, learning theory, pedagogy. And yet on the other hand, teachers and educators sometimes just plain don't know the languages and the cultures, so that there's a barrier there.

Fourthly, various groups or agencies often jealously guard what they see as their domain or their little empire. And I don't think we've had a greater example in the field of education in this country, than what goes on in the Council of Ministers of Education for Canada. There is a great deal of mistrust between groups and agencies. And hopefully through conferences like this, we're starting to break down the barriers a little bit.

Fifthly and finally in this list of points, the cost of travel and getting together is considerable, and unfortunately all too often school boards or government funding agencies see travel as something people do because it's a lot of fun, and not as something they do because it's a necessary ingredient to Canadians knowing each other and making decisions together. However, while we have to recognize these kinds of barriers, they can be broken down by frank, candid, face-to-face discussion and conversation such as has taken place here for the last two or three days. I think the Multiculturalism Directorate and all those who have worked in putting together this landmark conference are to be commended and congratulated for the superlative job they have done.

Miriam has spoken about the need for follow-up. I'd like to close by saying a few things about our Atlantic group that has now met three times at this conference. I'm very encouraged at the constructive, frank and serious sessions that we had. When we go back to the Maritimes later on today or tomorrow there will be follow-up. We're looking at the establishment of a regional cultural council. We're looking at the establishment of regional multicultural centres. We're recognizing that there's a need for cross-fertilization between ethnocultural groups on one hand and people who are part of the educational system on the other. And perhaps, the most important thing that has happened to us here, we've made friends and contacts from other regions and parts of Canada, with people whom we know we can look to and count on for support and assistance in pursuing this vital task to Canada that we share as Canadians.

Concluding Remarks

Lorne Laforge
Conference Chairperson

I think I can express our collective opinion that this conference has been a worthwhile endeavor, in fact the best for many years in the educational field. Your contributions, were, in my own modest opinion, the expertise that the country needs to go ahead and progress in this area. And I can say, judging from my international experience, that such an expertise would be envied by any country in the world. The outcomes of this conference provide a basis for governments at all levels to plan directions for the future in this area. Allow me to review and attempt to synthesize the principal ideas that emerged in the panels and workshops.

The first panel had the task of identifying, in a short period of time, the problems and possibilities in heritage language education. Some of the problems seemed to originate in the negative attitudes developed at all levels towards heritage language teaching. Implementation of official policies does not necessarily solve these problems. Heritage language teaching seems to be placed in a *parent pauvre* position, a situation which must be tolerated for the time being in some places.

One of the most crucial problems identified by participants was the lack of adequate training of heritage language instructors. It was also noted that as a consequence, a great number of these instructors had no official status in the educational system. Moreover, recruitment of instructors from other provinces or other countries was difficult for at least two reasons: first, the absence of agreement on transfer ability of qualifications; second, the lack of knowledge on the part of foreign teachers of the Canadian cultural context and realities.

Concerns were also expressed about problems in curriculum development, textbook adaptation and production, and appropriate evaluation procedures. Participants from some provinces advocated a change in provincial education acts in order to permit heritage languages to be taught more adequately during regular school hours.

Among the problems identified for native Amerindian and Inuit heritage language teaching were non-acceptance of Indian languages by schools and universities, ignorance by ESL and FSL teachers of Indian learning styles and cultural behavior, lack of adequate funding, and the physical isolation of groups from one another.

It was urgently felt that the different levels of government should get together in order to reach agreement on specific topics related to heritage language teaching, including funding, levels of jurisdiction, and basic necessities such as the costs for boards of education, for student transportation, etc. Clear guidelines are required from both provincial and federal levels of government on the kinds of support they intend to give to heritage language teaching in the future. In this regard participants pointed out that governments and boards of education must be made aware of the role of heritage language teaching in helping Canada meet its international challenges and in broadening the intellectual and cultural horizons of our children.

In some areas parents and ethnocultural communities have resisted heritage language teaching for a variety of reasons, such as what I call *la promotion sociale*. There is a need to disseminate information in booklet or leaflet form to counter the effects of myths and negative popular beliefs. The necessity to sell heritage language programs was stressed by many participants.

A major recommendation emphasized by participants is for the creation of provincial and/or national resource centres in the field of heritage language teaching. Federal and provincial governments as well as the linguistic communities themselves would all contribute to the establishment of such centres.

It was also strongly recommended that research on the linguistic and intellectual development of children learning heritage languages should be supported. What research is available would seem to indicate that teaching more than one language to children has no harmful effects on their academic progress and in fact benefits their cumulative development of skills and strengthens their general ability. In short, heritage language teaching is a culturally enriching venture that is in no way counterproductive for children's development.

Another observation made on many occasions during the conference was that the commitment of teaching staff is one of the key elements in heritage language teaching. Especially important is the sharing of experiences and objectives and a bit of what I call *le feu sacre*, creative and incomparable spirit.

It was felt that one of the greatest achievements of this conference was the bringing together of the most motivated and competent supporters of the movement to develop the cultural resources of Canadians through the learning of languages. The regional or provincial forums have pledged and have already taken steps to continue the initiatives of the conference and this fact alone would ensure its success. All in all, the discovery of cooperation and partnership in heritage language teaching was felt by participants to be a powerful tool for the promotion of multiculturalism in Canada.

And now I would like to review some general issues arising from this conference. First is the fact that language is inseparable from culture and the fulfillment of the individual and community depends on the development of both language and culture. Each of us perceives in this language/culture dichotomy a system of values, communication and experience which provide us with a unique individual identity. It follows from these very general, even philosophical, notions, that we have a duty to transmit to coming generations and to other nations this human experience. It is an essential part of our human resources and universal heritage.

We have in this conference begun the process of identifying our needs. First, there is the obvious need for sufficient numbers of heritage language teachers; second, we need community support; third, we need the support of governments at all levels; fourth, school boards must have the initiative to implement changes; we also need what I call "academic expertise," and finally, we need financial support.

In order to achieve our goals we need appropriate legislation and intergovernmental agreement which would take account of the unique needs of individual language groups; resource and information dissemination centres are also needed as are regional and provincial programs for training teachers and for developing curricula and instructional materials. Finally, the process of sharing and exchange initiated by this conference at provincial, regional and national levels must be continued through following conferences. The resolutions put forward by the regional committees at this conference provide a sound foundation for further progress.

I must conclude my remarks by expressing our most sincere thanks to the organizers of the conference and to the staff of the Secretary of State. Thanks to each of you and bon voyage.

Recommendations

Recommendations of the Heritage Language Education Conference, Saskatoon, June 1981

These recommendations are grouped according to the same categories as the workshops in the proceedings. The order of grouping does not imply priority. Those recommendations which were repeatedly suggested in different workshops and panels are highlighted with an asterisk.

The Child

* 1. That research be supported on the development of bilingualism among children learning heritage languages and its effects on their intellectual and academic growth.
2. That research be supported on the culturally-distinctive learning styles of minority groups, especially Native groups.
3. That research be supported on the development of assessment procedures capable of validly distinguishing genuine learning problems from linguistic/cultural differences.
4. That research be supported on the development of assessment procedures in heritage languages for purposes of program evaluation and grouping of students.
5. That dissemination of information in forms appropriate to different audiences (e.g. teachers, parents, etc.) be supported in order to help dispel myths about negative consequences of heritage language teaching.

The Teacher

* 1. That resources should be made available to facilitate professional development (both pre-service and in-service) of heritage language teachers especially in the areas of teaching methods and materials development. One way of achieving this goal would be the establishment of heritage language teacher training centres in each province or region.
2. That professional development be provided to heritage language teachers to help them provide appropriate educational experiences for learning disabled children.
3. That research be supported into Native language traditional teaching methods that may not be reflected in standard ESL/FSL techniques.
4. That sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic research be undertaken into problems of miscommunication between teacher and students, teacher and parents, and parents and school administrators.
* 5. That funding be provided to establish and support a National Heritage Language Teachers' Association as well as Teachers' Associations for the major individual heritage language communities.
6. That professional development be provided for "regular" teachers to make them more aware of the learning styles and cultural values of children from heritage language communities.

The Curriculum

* 1. That the Secretary of State act as a facilitator for heritage language programs by funding national and regional Language Resource Centres for the production and distribution of heritage language curriculum materials as well as for the dissemination of research information relevant to heritage language teaching.
2. That a review be undertaken of different school program models both in Canada and internationally for the teaching of heritage or minority languages.
3. That an inter-communal non-profit publishing company be established to manufacture heritage language curriculum materials developed by communities and/or educational agencies (e.g. school boards).
4. That universities should be encouraged to offer courses in ethnic and Native studies and to make a concentrated effort to recruit students

into the teaching of heritage languages.

*5. That curriculum materials be developed to expose all children to the variety of Canadian languages and cultures in order to help them better appreciate the role of languages in all human development and their specific roles in the Canadian context.

6. That school boards explicitly acknowledge the complementary role of ESL/FSL and heritage language teaching by organizing joint professional development activities and by sharing methodologies, grouping strategies, and materials across the two programs.

7. That procedures for ensuring "quality control" in the delivery of heritage language instruction be made explicit by communities and/or educational agencies receiving federal financial assistance in the organization of heritage language classes.

8. That efforts be made to encourage standardization of orthographies for the production of learning materials thereby enhancing the chances of survival of many endangered languages.

The Community

1. That a series of case studies be undertaken to document what has already been accomplished in the establishment and development of heritage language programs.

2. That the Secretary of State provide more effective dissemination to the heritage language communities of the funding possibilities and resources available and also take steps to help communities realistically assess their particular needs and priorities before seeking funding from Ottawa.

3. That back-up support programs be established for parents to help them deal with breakdown of communication with their children.

4. That financial assistance be provided to facilitate the provision of heritage language preschool experiences.

5. Research and pilot programs should be supported to explore ways of involving parents in the teaching of heritage languages both in home and at school.

The Society

*1. That the federal government should clarify, by means of a national policy statement, the importance of Canada's heritage language resources in the international economic and cultural context and their significance in the personal and educational development of individual Canadians.

*2. That all provincial governments should pass enabling legislation to allow heritage language instruction to be integrated into the school day and to facilitate the development of bilingual and trilingual school programs.

3. That interprovincial cooperation be established in the areas of teacher certificate transferability, funding of heritage language curriculum development and heritage language teacher training programs.

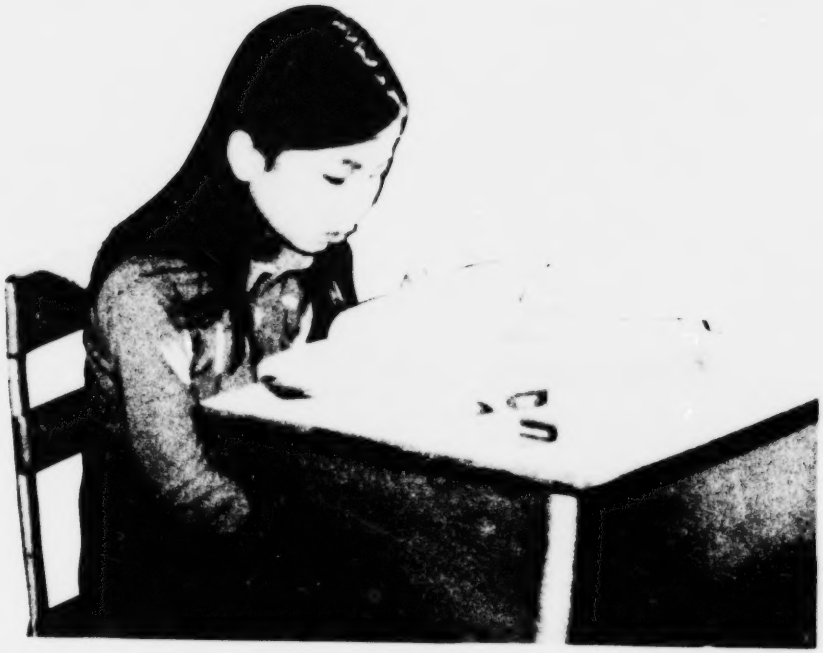
4. That international cooperation be established in order to facilitate teacher and student exchanges and curriculum development.

5. That further national, provincial/regional, and local conferences on heritage language teaching be supported.

6. That the special status of aboriginal languages be recognized and the maintenance of these languages be strongly supported.

7. That deaf sign language be recognized as a legitimate heritage language in future conferences, funding programs, etc.

Workshop Themes



The Child:

Language as a Way of Knowing

The outcomes of any educational program result from an interaction between what the child brings to the school and the treatment (e.g. curriculum, teaching behavior, etc.) provided by the school. All programs start with certain assumptions, either implicit or explicit, about the characteristics of the children to whom the program is directed. In the past Canadian educators have made assumptions about children from linguistic minorities which served to legitimize and perpetuate educational practices which today we would condemn as forms of violence against children. For example, many children were severely punished for speaking their mother tongue in the school on the grounds that adherence to the home language and culture prevented children from learning English and assimilating into the Canadian way of life. Bilingualism was viewed as an impediment to academic success and to the social cohesion of society and, as such, had to be eradicated. Modes of thinking, values, and skills which did not conform to white middle-class Anglo-Saxon norms were viewed as evidence of chidren's inherent inferiority or what in the '60s was termed "cultural deprivation."

The three papers in this section emphatically reject these assumptions. Terry Tafoya criticizes traditional ESL programs for their failure to take account of the values, philosophy and learning styles of Native children. The only way to avoid culturally myopic programs, he argues, is to involve Native peoples in determining the priorities of their own programs. Efforts should be made to provide all Canadian children with an appreciation of the differences between Native and European ways of knowing because only through this type of comparison can children become aware of the lens through which their own culture views reality.

Abe Worenklein focuses on an issue which has received considerable attention in recent years, namely, the educational difficulties of children with "learning disabilities." He refutes the myth that such children should not be exposed to an additional language in the school. Children with academic difficulties can learn heritage languages very effectively if teachers adjust their strategies to take advantage of children's strengths. The problem often lies not so much with the children as in our failure to learn how to teach them.

A similar theme is developed in the third paper. It is argued that in the past, and even today, educators have rationalized their failure to educate minority language children by making bilingualism a scapegoat for children's academic difficulties. We know from a large number of recent research studies that bilingualism has the potential to enrich children's intellectual and academic development. Researchers have suggested that these benefits are due, in part at least, to the fact that access to two linguistic systems allows children to contrast the ways in which each language organizes reality. In this way, children's awareness and appreciation of the potential of language in general becomes sharpened.

The dominant theme that emerges from the three papers is that bilingual/bicultural children have a potential educational advantage which is often rendered into a liability by our school systems. Multiculturalism can become a reality in our schools and society only when teachers become willing to learn from their students. The insights which many ethnic minority children have as a result of their access to two languages and cultures are illustrated by the following passage written by Henry Ma who came to Canada from Hong Kong:

> *English style is very different from my style. English people do not like sentences to go around and around and the idea must be clear, but in our tradition, we tend to go around and around, and then at least the focus becomes narrower and narrower.*[1]

1. ESL/D Department, Toronto Board of Education, *The Search for Self: Thoughts and Feelings of New Canadian Teenagers*, (Toronto: Toronto Board of Education, 1979) p. 12

Different Drummers: The Complementary Roles of ESL/FSL and Heritage Language Education

Terry Tafoya

A Navajo Indian elder responded to a child's question about why it snowed in Montezuma Canyon, part of the Navajo reservation. The old man answered him by telling him a story about a boy who discovered a strange flaming object and cared for it until the Holy People came to reclaim it.

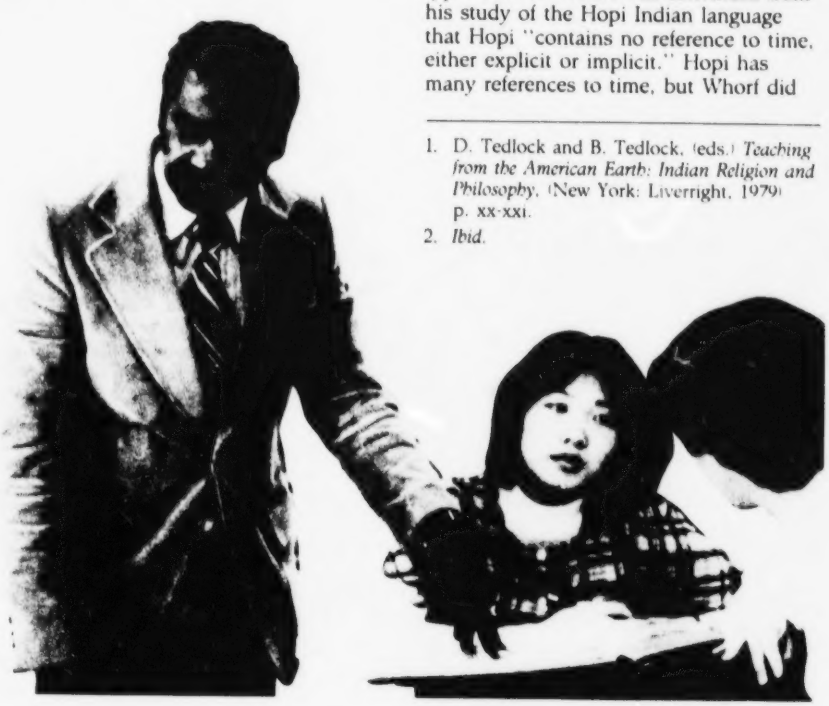
> *They would not allow him to keep even a part of it, but instead put him to a series of tests. When he was successful at these tests, they promised they would throw all the ashes from their fireplace into Montezuma Canyon each year. "Sometimes they fail to keep their word, and sometimes they throw down too much, but in all they turn their attention toward us regularly, here in Montezuma Canyon."*[1]

When the boy had heard this story, he accepted that it explained why it snowed in Montezuma Canyon, but not why it snowed in Blanding, another part of the Navajo area.

> *The old man quickly replied, "I don't know. You'll have to make up your own story for that." To the anthropologist who had witnessed this exchange, the old man later commented that "it was too bad the boy did not understand stories," and he explained that this was not really a story about the historical origin of snow in Montezuma Canyon or in any other place, but a story about the properly reciprocal relationship between man and other beings. He attributed the boy's failure to grasp the story to the influence of White schooling.*[2]

The grandson of this old man had been caught up into the need for strict cause and effect, failing to understand that the teaching offered to him by his grandfather was of a very different nature, which in moral and emotional development may be far more important than learning the physical conditions involved in a standard snowfall. As the old man properly diagnosed, a lot of the child's success as a scholar and failure as a human being is tied to "White schooling."

I think this is a fundamental point in understanding Native reactions to ESL programs both in the United States and Canada: although we are forced to utilize English in describing current educational programs, the terms used often have very different meanings in the Native communities from their meanings in the White community. Tremendous areas of misunderstandings exist in our attempts to provide quality services in education to our people.



Indians and other Native people differ in several significant areas from the other current inhabitants of North America. We are first, and foremost, the original people of this hemisphere.[1] Our customs, our languages, our philosophy, our religion, and our behaviors reflect that. If one attempts to teach children of European descent either in English or French, one is dealing with languages that are related to each other, if not of the same linguistic family like English and German or French and Spanish, then related by a common world view; a common religion.

While certainly there are difficulties in translation and communication between speakers of various European-origin languages, the difference between English and French and many Native American languages is of a totally different logical type. Bernard Whorf was convinced from his study of the Hopi Indian language that Hopi "contains no reference to time, either explicit or implicit." Hopi has many references to time, but Whorf did

1. D. Tedlock and B. Tedlock, (eds.) *Teaching from the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*, (New York: Liverright, 1979) p. xx-xxi.
2. *Ibid.*

not learn them as a beginning student of the Hopi language, because when one is first learning a new language, one learns the present tense. His error, however, should not distract from his central theory – that language determines reality in many ways.

Some linguists contend that the Nootka language, spoken by tribes in northern Washington state and in British Columbia, has no nouns, but rather uses verbs and adverbs. One is not a man, but rather, in the process of "man-ing." The objects or person is in the state of being.

Even the heritage programs designed with the intent to provide our Native communities with revival and maintenance programs aren't different in essence from the ESL/FSL models, in the sense that the educational approach is similar. What does a teacher of the rote, sentence drill, conjugation, and little flash cards do when confronted with a language that has no nouns? Granted, this is an extreme case, but it is my contention that educators are constantly stumbling over problems of this nature, but not realizing it.

Sociolinguists Scollon and Scollon report an instance of a young boy in Fort Chipewyan who took a copy of Goffman's *Asylums* off the shelf and said "You guys sing from this?"

When we said that we did not, he asked incredulously if we read it. Books at Fort Chipewyan are typically song books or prayer books used in church. The relation ship to books is unindirectional. People are readers or singers but not writers. Literacy is strongly associated with religious contexts which at Fort Chipewyan are generally Roman Catholic.[3]

Scollon and Scollon point out a number of significant factors in providing educational services to Native groups: the enormous push for literacy; "fictionalization of self" skills; stress on "left-brain" development; and socialization of Native students into behavior patterns acceptable to the general White society; these are all elements of standardized and compulsory education of which most teachers are not even aware.

There has never been any systematic attempt to provide school programs to Native communities that support the values and philosophy of Natives. The very structure of the "educational system" itself is a totally foreign one; existing "Native Heritage" efforts are for the most part supplementary programs added to the standard framework. Native education traditionally worked with individual child development, for example, there was careful monitoring of the young by elders to make certain that certain stories were told at appropriate times, not because it was 11:30 a.m., and "circle time."

Part of the problem of White schooling is its:

dividing being from doing
confusing lesson and learning
isolating growth from pain
separating thought from experience[4]

I am not so naive as to say that "White schooling" is totally wrong or useless. Certainly Native communities realize that our children need to learn more about the White world. If for no other reasons than to protect us from erosion of our treaty rights and exploitation of the few resources we have left from a continent that was once ours alone.

My concern is to point out that education and its use of European language structure has significant political element that most people never consider. The Native children who can only communicate with their parents in English or French will never fully understand their heritage. If no one in North America ever spoke another word of English, French, Spanish, Chinese, Russian, or Polish, all these languages and cultures would continue elsewhere unabated. If our Native languages cease to exist (and some estimate that the nearly 2,000 Native languages thought to have been spoken here before Columbus, have dwindled to a little over 250), they are gone forever. Another way of understanding the world has been lost forever.

There is a great need at present for dialogue to develop between the educational establishment and Native groups that would shift from discussing how much of the budget is going to go into making a filmstrip on building canoes, into discussion of what the specific goals of the Native community are. Can our Native children be both good scholars and good human beings at the same time? Can our children accept that the legends of snow and the scientific "facts" about snow are both true?

My point is that literally millions of dollars and years of efforts have gone in to establishing and maintaining educational programs that are not meeting the needs of either Natives or non-Natives in regard to Indian education. As students of life, and students of schools, "We must learn to keep the balance. Having intelligence we must not act in ignorance. Having choice, we must not act without responsibility."[5]

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3. R. Scollon and S.B.K. Scollon, "The Literate Two-Year Old: The Fictionalization of Self," (unpublished manuscript, 1979) p. 8.
4. N. Wood, *War Cry on a Prayer Feather*, (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1979) p. 33.
5. U. Le Guin, *The Farthest Shore*, (New York Antheneum, 1972) p. 74.

Approaches to Heritage Language Education For Children Experiencing Learning Difficulties

Abe Worenklein

Teachers and educators have for thousands of years observed a mysterious dilemma in the classroom. They are faced with certain intelligent children who have great difficulty in learning to read, write and to spell, and even to understand and use spoken or written language. These children may be able to express themselves beautifully in the oral mode, but have great difficulty with written language or vice versa. Their difficulty is not due to laziness, for often these children may initially be the most industrious and conscientious students in the class. Unfortunately, many parents and too many teachers in the past have assigned these children labels and have given up hope that they will somehow be able to deal with language.

These children by nature of their strengths and weaknesses cannot be placed in categories such as "blind," "retarded," "emotionally disturbed," etc. They are generally classified as having specific learning disability and one of the major criteria for such a diagnosis is that they have average to above average intelligence. Furthermore there must be a significant discrepancy between their potential or expected achievement and their actual achievement. Thirdly, there should be no evidence of emotional problems, sensory deficiencies, environmental or educational deprivation. However, often emotional problems occur as a result of the continuing frustration that these children experience in school. Statistically, 80% of children who have learning disabilities are boys and a conservative estimate of frequency would be about 15% of the school population. The disabilities range from the very mild to the very severe.

Because of these children's learning disabilities, many parents are very hesitant to enroll them in programs where an additional language is taught. "I don't think we can enroll Michael in Hebrew class – he has a learning disability." "Maybe Mrs. Adams should know that David has perceptual handicaps and therefore won't be able to read." Such comments are very typical for children who have learning disabilities. The result of this type of assumption is that many children are not receiving education in a language which they have the ability to learn. The problems arise from the fact that often teachers are not trained in ways of teaching exceptional children. While most of these children can be taught within the usual classroom structure, teachers must be prepared to make certain adjustments in assignments and learning procedures.

Nature of Language Processing

In the beginning stages of reading instruction, considerable emphasis is usually placed on developing accurate word analysis and decoding skills in children. At more advanced stages emphasis shifts from decoding, which has become automatic, to interpretation of the meanings contained in the text. The child must be able to reduce an elaborate description of experiences, attitudes, thoughts or events, which is often expressed in semantically and syntactically complex language, into a condensed and abbreviated inner meaning representation. A syntactically complex written message may be spoken in a much less complex structural and condensed form. In turn, these printed and spoken messages may be related to an even simpler and more condensed inner meaning representation. If a child has difficulty in understanding spoken or written sentences it may be due to difficulty in reducing the surface structure of these messages into the inner meaning equivalent.

Difficulties in processing or reproducing oral language can have even greater effect on children's ability to express themselves in written form. The relationship between oral language and written language is a very basic one.

> *Writing also requires deliberate analytical action on the part of the child. In speaking, he is hardly conscious of the sounds he pronounces, quite unconscious of the mental operations he performs. In writing, he must take cognizance of the sound structure of each word, dissect it, and reproduce it in alphabetical symbols . . . In the same deliberate way he must put words in a certain sequence to form a sentence.*[1]

While there are many types of specific language disorders found in learning disabled children, some of the most common involve deficits in word knowledge, in word and sentence formation and in word finding. Children who have language difficulties and are presented with the standard reading materials are likely to experience failure. As a result of their problems, these materials may be incomprehensible and consequently arouse little interest or motivation in the child. It is thus extremely important for teachers to provide reading materials which are intrinsically interesting to learning disabled children and not beyond them in complexity of the language.

Practical Classroom Suggestions

In teaching children who have learning difficulties the most important thing to keep in mind is the child's need for success, acceptance and self-worth. The nine principles listed by Otto and McMenemy[2] serve as a useful framework:

1. Ensure learner's cooperation.
2. Begin on child's level.

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1. L.S. Vygotsky, *Thought and Language* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1962) p. 99.
2. W. Otto and R.A. McMenemy, *Corrective and Remedial Teaching*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966).

3. Take small steps and don't overwhelm the child.
4. Reinforce success not only by seeing to it that the child is praised but by making sure that the child knows that he/she has done well.
5. Keep tasks and materials meaningful.
6. Use the perceptual and memory modality which is strongest.
7. Encourage the child's discovery of relationships (e.g. help child see how words resemble each other, how endings are the same, how the same idea is found in different places, etc.).
8. Guard against motivation that is too intensive and anxiety producing.
9. Ensure success often.

When planning a lesson for a group of children experiencing learning difficulties, the child should always be the focus of attention. Knowing and understanding each child should be the essence of such planning. The teacher must take into account the child's:

1. Specific level of functioning
2. Strengths and weaknesses
3. Style of learning
4. Attention span
5. Likes and dislikes
6. Motivation

To fit the task to the child the teacher must consider firstly, the nature of the information that the child is required to receive and the kinds of demand that it makes on the child; secondly, the teacher must take into account whether the child is able to perform the internal operations required by the task; lastly, the teacher must consider the nature of the response mode, whether verbal or motor.

Once all of this is known, it is possible to understand what the child is being asked and to attempt to match the task to the characteristics of the child. If the response is a motor one and the child has motor difficulties, can we modify the task and make the response verbal? If the task required visual perceptual processing which might be difficult for the child, can we add auditory components to make it easier? If the task is a verbal one and the child has difficulty in processing language, can we simplify the language or use gestures or pictures to convey the information? If a particular task is extremely difficult for the child, we should ask in what other way suitable to this child's level of functioning can the particular subject matter be taught. Children who have weak visual memories could be helped by having an alphabet in front of them so that they do not have to spend all their time trying to concentrate on how to form letters. A child who may have difficulties in writing may be asked to just recognize the word. The object of such task analyses is to achieve "a curriculum match" between the student and the material being taught and used. One must take into account the learning characteristics of the child as well as what the child has learned previously. In addition, the task sequence and what it requires the child to do must be carefully considered.

Children who have learning difficulties are not hopeless cases. They frequently have high potential and it is an unnecessary bit of cruelty to deprive these children of access to their language and cultural heritage and of the possibility of being fully accepted members of their ethnolinguistic communities. Most of these children can learn and want to learn. They can only succeed if we learn how to teach them.

Mother Tongue Development as Educational Enrichment

Jim Cummins

Parents of minority language children often try to use English in communicating with their children in the home because they feel that the use of their mother tongue (L1) may confuse children and reduce their chances of academic success. This fear of bilingualism is sometimes reinforced by teachers who advise parents to use English as much as possible in the home in order to help their children to become fully proficient in English. Similarly, some teachers and parents have expressed misgivings about the teaching of heritage languages in school because they see the promotion of L1 as undermining their efforts to teach children English.

These beliefs about the negative effects of using L1 in the home and school are based on misconceptions regarding the central role of language in children's educational development and the specific ways in which bilingualism affects this development. Recent research findings from many parts of the world show clearly that maintaining and developing L1 through using it as a medium of instruction in school or speaking it at home has no negative effects on the development of the second language (L2); on the contrary, in many cases development of L2 academic skills appears to benefit significantly.[1] Before considering some of this research it is worth examining how the misconceptions about bilingualism and mother tongue maintenance arose.

The Myth of Bilingual Handicaps

The image of bilingualism as a negative force in children's development was especially common in the early part of this century when most teachers of minority language children saw bilingualism almost as a disease which not only caused confusion in children's thinking but also prevented children from becoming "good Americans" or "good Canadians." Therefore, they felt that a precondition for teaching children the school language was the eradication of their bilingualism. Thus, children were often punished for

1. J. Cummins, *Bilingualism and Minority Language Children*, (Toronto: OISE, 1981).

speaking their L1 in school and were made to feel ashamed of their own language and cultural background. It is not surprising that research studies conducted during this period often found that bilingual children did poorly at school and many didn't seem to approve of their home culture in order to belong to the majority culture and often ended up unable to identify fully with either cultural group.

However, rather than considering the possibility that the school's treatment of minority children might be a cause of their lack of success, teachers, researchers and administrators seized on the obvious scapegoat and blamed children's failure on their bilingualism. The research findings were interpreted to mean that there is only so much space or capacity available in our brains for language; therefore, if we divide that space between two languages, neither language will develop properly and intellectual confusion will result. Recent research findings and evaluations of programs which have promoted children's L1 in the school show clearly that the poor academic performance of many bilingual children was caused, not by their bilingualism, but by the attempts of the school to eradicate their bilingualism. These findings show clearly that bilingualism can be a positive force in minority children's development when their L1 is promoted by the school. Two Canadian examples will serve to illustrate these findings.

Evaluations of Bilingual Programs

Edmonton Ukrainian-English Program
This program has existed in eight Edmonton elementary schools since the early '70s and is financially supported by the Alberta government. Currently, there are close to 1,000 students enrolled and the program has continued into the junior high level in one school. Ukrainian is used as a medium of instruction for 50% of the regular school day throughout elementary school. Only about 15% of the students are fluent in Ukrainian on entry to the program. A study carried out with grade 1 and 3 students[2] found that students who were relatively fluent in Ukrainian as a result of parents' using it consistently in the home were significantly better able to detect ambiguities in English sentence structure than either equivalent unilingual English-speaking children not in the program or children in the program who came from predominantly English-speaking homes. The evaluations of the program have shown no detrimental effects on the development of children's English or other academic skills. In fact, by the end of grade 5 children in the program had pulled ahead of the comparison group in English reading comprehension skills.[3]

Manitoba Francophone Study. A large-scale study carried out by Herbert et al[4] among grades 3, 6 and 9 minority francophone students in Manitoba who were receiving varying amounts of instruction through the medium of French found that the amount of French-medium instruction showed no relationship to children's achievement in English. In other words, francophone students receiving 80% instruction in French and 20% instruction in English did just as well in English as students receiving 80% instruction in English and 20% in French. However, amount of instruction in French was positively related to achievement in French. In other words, students' French benefitted at no cost to their progress in English.

In summary, research findings show clearly that minority children's L1 proficiency can be promoted in school at no cost to the development of proficiency in the majority language. The findings of a considerable number of recent research studies have also suggested that the resulting proficient bilingualism can benefit the child both intellectually and linguistically.

Bilingualism and Children's Intellectual Development

About 40 studies conducted during the past 20 years have reported a positive association between bilingualism and five broad areas of children's intellectual development[5]:

1. Ability to analyse and become aware of language
2. Overall academic language skills (e.g. reading and writing)
3. General conceptual development
4. Creative thinking
5. Sensitivity to communicative needs of the listener.

These positive associations between bilingualism and cognition have been found to occur in situations where bilinguals continue to develop their proficiency in L1 (e.g. through becoming literate in L1) while they are acquiring fluency and literacy in L2. Several investigators have suggested ways in which bilingualism might enhance cognitive and linguistic functioning. For example, Vygotsky argued that being able to express the same thought in different languages will enable the child to "see his language as one particular system among many, to view its phenomena under more general cate-

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2. J. Cummins and R. Mulcahy, "Orientation to Language in Ukrainian-English Bilingual Children," *Children Development* 49 (1978), 1239-1249.
3. E. Ewanyshyn, "Evaluation of a Ukrainian-English Bilingual Program, 1977-78," (Edmonton Catholic School District, 1979); D. Lamont, W. Penner, T. Blowers, H. Mosychuk, and J. Jones, "Evaluation of the Fifth Year of a Bilingual (English-Ukrainian) Program," (Edmonton Public School System, 1979).
4. R. Hebert et al, "Rendement Academique et Langue d'Enseignement chez les Eleves Franco-Manitobains," (Saint-Boniface, Manitoba: Centre de Recherches du College Universitaire de Saint-Boniface, 1976).
5. J. Cummins, 1981, *op.cit.*

gories, and this leads to awareness of his linguistic operations."[6] Lambert and Tucker[7] argued that a similar process was likely to operate among children in bilingual programs. They suggested that as children develop high level bilingual skills they are likely to practice a form of 'incipient contrastive linguistics' by comparing the syntax and vocabulary of their two languages.

In general, it is not surprising that bilingual children should be more adept at certain aspects of linguistic processing. In gaining control over two language systems, the bilingual child has had to decipher much more language input than the unilingual child who has been exposed to only one language system. Thus, the bilingual child has had more practice in analysing meanings than the unilingual child. However, too often in the past educators have made bilinguals' potential academic advantage into a liability by attempting to eradicate their L1, with the result that neither language has developed fully.

Although most schools no longer overtly try to eradicate children's L1, minority children's linguistic and cultural base continues to be undermined by educators in more subtle ways. One such way is to inform parents that the continued use of L1 in the home will detract from their children's acquisition of English academic skills.

Mother Tongue Development in the Home

Several studies show that the use of a minority language in the home is not a handicap to children's academic progress. This was evident in the Cummins and Mulcahy study[8] in the Ukrainian bilingual program, and it can also be inferred from the finding that in the Toronto Board of Education Every Student Survey[9] ethnic minority students born in Canada who learned English as a second language performed as well or better on all academic tasks as compared to Canadian-born students for whom English was a first language.

The same conclusion emerges in a recent study of Italian immigrant children in

6. L.S. Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1962, p. 110.
7. W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker, *Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment*, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972.
8. *Op.cit.*
9. C.A. Ramsey and E.N. Wright, *Students of Non Canadian Origin: The Relation of Language and Rural Urban Background to Academic Achievement and Ability*, Toronto: Board of Education for the City of Toronto, 1969.

Montreal conducted by Bhatnagar.[10] This study examined the academic progress of 171 immigrant children in English-language elementary schools and 102 in French-language schools in relation to language spoken at home and with friends and siblings. Bhatnagar sums up his findings as follows:

> *The results reported here do not support the popular assumption that the more immigrant children speak the local language the better their adjustment to the host culture. It is interesting to note that immigrant children who used Italian and a Canadian language interchangeably were better even at English or French, of both the spoken and written variety, the children who used English or French all the time . . . language retention . . . should lead to higher academic adjustment, better facility in the host language, and better social relations of immigrant children.*[11]

Several reasons can be suggested to explain why children who maintain their L1 proficiency despite peer group and societal pressure to use English (or French) exclusively, perform better academically. First, as outlined above, there is considerable research evidence that bilingualism positively influences children's intellectual and academic development. Second, minority children who are comfortable in their emotional adjustment to both the majority culture and the culture of the home perform better academically than those who are ambivalent to either home or majority cultures or both.[12]

Obviously, language retention is an important aspect of a child's adjustment to the home culture. The third reason concerns the quality of parent-child communication in the home. In a longitudinal study recently conducted in England, Wells[13] has shown that children's acquisition of reading skills in school is strongly related to the extent to which parent responded to and expanded upon the child's utterances. If parents are not comfortable in English, the quality of their interaction with their children in English is likely to be less than in L1. Thus, the lower academic achievement of immigrant children who used English or French exclusively with their parents and friends in Bhatnagar's study can possibly be attributed to the lower quality of communication their parents were capable of providing in their second language.

This suggests that teachers should be extremely cautious about advising minority parents to switch to English in the home. Whether the language of the home is the same or different from the language of the school matters very little in comparison to the quality of the interaction children experience with adults. Thus, rather than encouraging minority parents to switch to English, teachers should encourage them to provide their children with a solid basis for acquiring conceptual and academic skills through strong promotion of L1 in the home.

In summary, there are sound educational reasons, strongly supported by research findings, for promoting the development of L1 both in the home and school.

Conclusion

A major implication of the research reviewed above is that heritage language programs involve a return to the roots of the term "education" in that they attempt to draw out and develop children's potential to become proficiently bilingual and biliterate. Mary Ashworth made the point very clearly in her address to the TESL conference in Toronto in 1978.[14] She pointed out that the purpose of education is to make children more than they were, that is to increase their knowledge and develop their personalities. Yet when minority children replace their mother tongue with English they leave school in a very important sense less than they were, because they are no longer able to communicate effectively in their L1 and have not developed L1 literacy skills.

Heritage language programs are a first step towards recognizing that the bilingualism of our children is a personal and societal resource which we as a nation can ill afford to squander. Ethnocultural community leaders should ensure that the research evidence is communicated to parents so that they can recognize and reject the misconceptions of some teachers (and ethnic parents) about bilingualism and its relationship to children's progress in English academic skills. Parents must realize that their children have a potential educational advantage, that they are "blessed with bilingual brains,"[15] and actively ensure that the education system (few of whose teachers are similarly blessed) does not transform this advantage into a liability.

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10. J. Bhatnagar, "Linguistic Behaviour and Adjustment of Immigrant Children in French and English Schools in Montreal," *International Review of Applied Psychology*, 29 (1980), 141-159.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
12. Cummins 1981, *op.cit.*
13. G. Wells, *Language as Interaction: The Study of Language Development*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
14. M. Ashworth, Programs, Politics and Progress. Paper presented to TESL Association Conference, Toronto, 1978.
15. This apt phrase was thought up by students in the bilingual education/TESOL program at the University of Texas at San Antonio and they used T-shirts as the medium for getting the message across.

The Teacher:

Transmitting the Medium Through the Message

During the past 10 years considerable progress has been made in our understanding of how first and second languages are acquired. It is now generally agreed that very young children learn their first language by first figuring out the meaning of the concrete situation (e.g. mother getting coat on preparing to go for walk) and then correlate this meaning with the spoken language (e.g. "Now we're going to go for a *walk*."). With repeated exposure to these experiences the child will eventually begin to produce the stressed words ("walk"), to which parents will respond with delight, encouragement and more linguistic input to the child. As the child's experience of the world and of language increases, the child will begin to use the language in a creative way to express novel utterances.

How different is the typical second language classroom where children seldom have either the opportunity or ability to express their own thoughts and feelings in the second language! Often the teacher teaches from a text or syllabus in which the second language has been analysed into its component parts and these are transmitted to the children by means of drills and exercises. It is not surprising that many heritage language teachers use these methods because this was how they themselves learned second languages and until recently these methods were endorsed by many theorists of second language pedagogy.

However, the record of such methods in teaching second languages has been dismal. The lack of success of traditional methods has been highlighted by the spectacular success of bilingual or "immersion" programs. For example, in French immersion programs children rapidly gain a high level of proficiency in French at no cost to academic progress in other subject matter.

The success of bilingual programs has given impetus to "communicative" language teaching in which the instructional focus is on the content rather than on the language, on the message rather than on the medium. This recent emphasis parallels a similar development in the teaching of English in both North America and Britain. The focus has shifted from learning language to the *use* of language for learning. Theorists now believe that providing children with genuinely meaningful listening and reading materials and encouraging them to write about their own experiences, thoughts and feelings will result in considerably more knowledge about and motivation to use language than the traditional focus on grammar and linguistic structure.

These insights into the nature of language teaching and learning are elaborated in the first three papers of this section. Rebecca Ullmann contrasts the assumptions of grammar-translation, audio-lingual and communicative approaches to second language teaching and argues for the need to adopt a second language curriculum focus which includes a communicative activities syllabus, a culture syllabus and a general language education syllabus in addition to the traditional language syllabus.

Detailed suggestions for implementing some aspects of this broader curriculum focus are provided by Cynthia Chambers in discussing Dene language programs in the Northwest Territories. Most of the activities outlined are appropriate for developing language skills in general (first or second languages) and the language experience approach suggested in the paper appears especially appropriate for children who may have limited exposure to literacy in the home.

Many concrete teaching suggestions are also provided by Irene Wiebe and again a "child-centred-experience-based" program is endorsed. The goals of language teaching are explicitly placed into a broader educational perspective, namely, "to help children claim their humanity through the use of language."

These three papers outline a challenging role for both the heritage language and

ESL/FSL teacher, namely, to promote children's ability to use language as a medium for developing and elaborating their thinking skills, to use language as a way of knowing. The authors argue that it is only in this way that languages can be learned. Languages cannot be taught in isolation from experience, communication and culture.

But how can heritage language teachers reorient their programs to take account of these insights into the way language is learned? As many participants pointed out, professional development is needed to improve the quality of the programs. Aline Charbonneau Dagenais outlines the course for heritage language teachers instituted by the University of Montreal to train teachers in the Quebec Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine. It is not always possible, however, for heritage language teachers to have the benefits of a formal accredited course on language teaching. For these teachers, Sandra Venables provides a series of concrete suggestions whereby teachers can increase their knowledge about the process of heritage language learning and improve their own classroom teaching skills.

Clearly, however, what heritage language teachers as individuals can accomplish in the area of professional development is limited. Institutional support is required. David Wilman describes an encouraging example of how government agencies, communities, universities and private foundations have creatively cooperated to train Inuit teachers for bilingual programs in the Northwest Territories.

What emerges from these papers is a clear statement of the pedagogical directions in which heritage language teachers should be going as well as concrete suggestions about how to begin the journey. Although the many institutional, political and financial obstacles on the road should not be minimized, the example of the Northwest Territories illustrates how these obstacles can be overcome.

Communicative Versus Traditional Approaches to Second Language Teaching

Rebecca Ullmann

A remarkable characteristic of second language (L2) teaching is that it continually adopts a searching attitude. Over the years various approaches to second language teaching have been advocated, adopted and rejected. It may therefore, be profitable to consider some of the changes that have occurred in L2 teaching during the past 30 years. These changes are antecedent to the current interest of the profession in communicative language teaching and provide a context for the recent enthusiasm manifested for this approach by second language educators.

Traditional Approaches in L2 Teaching

Prior to the '60s, second language programs tended to begin at the secondary school level and usually involved the grammar-translation method. The main objective of this method was to help students achieve an ability to read in the second language, to learn the grammatical code and master sufficient vocabulary to be able to translate texts with ease. Students were also supposed to become acquainted with the second language culture through contact with its literature. The oral aspect of language learnings was very much downplayed and, as a result, only exceptional students attained some measure of speaking fluency within this approach. In other words, the success of grammar-translation as a method for learning a second language was only partial because its objectives were incomplete. A new pedagogy was needed which would deal more fully with oral proficiency in L2 learning.

Audio-lingualism which has so predominated the teaching of the '60s and '70s, developed as a result of this justified concern for oral proficiency. In a radical departure from the methods and approaches of the '50s it advocated a large structured program which would be based on dialogues and drills, rather than on written text. It relied heavily on the premise that listening and speaking preceded reading and writing. In addition, it was assumed that students would learn the grammatical code through repetition and memorization and in this way develop automatic control of the L2. When oral skill became automatic, students would then be able to function in open, uncontrolled situations – that is, use the second language in any setting.

The theoretical rationale for audio-lingualism was derived from structural linguistics and behaviorist psychology. Behaviorist psychology provided a basis for the view that students could learn a second language through stimulus-response conditioning; structural linguistics helped endorse the view that an adequate description of a language could be derived from an analysis of its spoken and written forms into component parts. It was not deemed necessary to consider how these forms were actually used in communication.

As a result a new methodology was elaborated which stressed repetition, substitution, and transformation drills aimed at developing automatic student responses. In addition, a new technology developed. The traditional textbooks were replaced with picture charts, tape recorder, tapes and a teacher's guide. Teachers now began to memorize dialogues which they in turn led their students to repeat. The dialogues were constructed primarily to practice specific structures and vocabulary. On the whole, their substantive content was negligible; the language often unnatural.

During the late '60s and '70s many teachers began to question the rationale and methodology of their second language teaching practices because it became clear that although students could respond correctly and automatically within the drill, dialogue or structured question period, they were unable to transfer their responses to other settings which required more personal input. This had led to an exploration of what has come to be known as communicative approaches to L2 teaching.

Communicative Approaches to L2 Teaching

In recent years language use has come to be a key area of focus in the attempt to make L2 teaching more communicative. Two approaches to communicative language teaching have been developed with this in mind.[1]

The more linguistic approach developed primarily in Europe is analytical and mainly cognitive, and stresses the study and practice of communicative language functions such as apologizing, describing, requesting, promising and so on. These functions are practiced in various realistic situations and contexts. The teachers and course developers make a conscious attempt to motivate learners by relating the information and language which they present in their programs directly to learner needs. In short, language *functions* rather than grammatical structures form the focus of the program.

The more experiential approach is non-analytical and is reflected in, for example, bilingual education settings. The language input is less controlled (i.e. more natural) and learners tend to be highly motivated because they are placed in authentic second language settings which provide ample opportunities for communication. There is a strong emphasis on acquiring the second language through a focus on topic and content rather than through a strong reliance on the formal study of the second language.

In attempting to provide a communicative context in which their students can learn the second language, L2 teachers are also justifiably concerned with the nature of the substantive content of their programs. Introducing worthwhile content which is not trivial in nature into the L2 setting is seen as an extremely vital factor in learning a second language. It is increasingly being recognized that students need to be given the opportunity to refine their language skills through contact with matters which concern them and which expand their individual horizons.

Heritage, traditions and world views can be transmitted by means of second language whose content is well planned. An appropriate selection of such content which is relevant to the needs and interests of students can increase their motivation to use the L2. Classroom experience has shown that students use their L2 if it will help them learn new information, meet a challenge or convince someone of an important point during a discussion. Using the second language as an instrument or tool to help reach an other goal which students perceive to be worthwhile and important is an interesting avenue that is being pursued by teachers to achieve a greater degree of communication in the L2 program.

Conclusions: A Broader Perspective of the L2 Curriculum

While most L2 teachers welcome the current interest in communicative second language teaching and recognize the need for change in their programs, they are often not in a position to abandon overnight what they are doing and start again from scratch. A large amount of money and time may have been invested in their current L2 programs. Many hours of hard work may have been committed to developing a new program and adapting it to particular student needs.

A move toward gradual change, however, might be to consider adopting a broad perspective and outlook with regard to the general nature of L2 curriculum. A multiple focus curriculum which included a language syllabus, a communicative activities syllabus, a culture syllabus and a general language education syllabus, all of equal status, would lend new dimensions to our current L2 teaching practices.

This multiple focus L2 curriculum has strong potential. It could provide a greater variety of language experiences which are essential in order to learn a second language communicatively. It could not only allow greater flexibility and broader scope in which to teach a second language but could also provide clearly enunciated objectives for each important area of the curriculum and help teachers develop methodologies which were less formally structured and more communicative. It could also provide the basis for the development of communicative materials which emphasize worthwhile substantive content. In effect it could provide a basic framework for the continuing and sincere effort on the part of teachers to improve instruction in the second language classroom.

Media and Methods of Teaching Heritage Languages in Rural and Isolated Communities

Cynthia Chambers

The Dene languages are members of the Athabaskan language family, as are Navajo, Apache and Sarcee. There are four Dene languages spoken in the

1. These two interpretations are described by Dr. H.H. Stern in his forthcoming book *Fundamental Concepts in Second Language Teaching*. (London: Oxford University Press, in press).

Northwest Territories: Loucheux (Gwich'in), Chipewyan, Slavey and Dogrib. As well Slavey has five major dialect groups. In fact, each community has developed a dialect. Thus, it is clear that we are working in a very linguistically complex and diversified situation. This situation is further complicated by the rapid language change occurring in these languages and one may find radical phonological and morphological differences between the speech of older and younger Dene. The implications of language differences, be they dialectical or age based, for program materials development and teaching these languages are profound. Should materials be developed in every dialect? Should as many materials as possible be printed without text so that each community or dialect area can put in its own? Should we aim for a type of standardized writing system like we have in English or Chinese?

In the 26 Dene communities, there is a tremendous amount of variation of Dene fluency amongst the school age population, especially in the elementary schools. There are seven communities such as Fort Franklin where the entire school age population is fully fluent in the Dene language. There are six communities where very few children in the school speak or understand the language of their heritage. The communities where Gwich'in is spoken, Fort MacPherson for example, are in this situation of serious language loss. The remaining communities, and the largest group, are those where there is a mixture of language proficiency. In all eight schools of this group I would suspect the children do have a passive knowledge of the Dene language. I use the word "suspect" because to date, there has been no research done to determine more accurately what are the varying language abilities of these children – and this is information that is necessary for appropriate design and implementation of language programs.

Current Dene Language Programs

The various types of Dene Language programs have been determined not so much by the needs exemplified by students' wide range of language abilities as by factors such as community commitment to the programs and availability of resources. "Is there an instructor?" "Will the instructor be trained?" "Is there a program to follow?" "Is the rest of the school staff supportive?" These are questions commonly asked when a northern Dene community wishes to begin a heritage language program.

I would like to summarize briefly the Dene language programs presently in operation in the Northwest Territories. Of the seven communities where the children are fully fluent in a Dene language upon entering school, only one school is offering the Dene language as the language of instruction in the kindergarten to grade two level. In the other six, the children are put into an English submersion situation – with some compensating factors such as bilingual classroom assistants and, sometimes, even teachers.

In the six communities where there is a serious language loss and the children understand very little of their heritage language, there are only two schools which are presently operating a Dene-as-a-second-language (DASL) program. DASL is taught by a Native speaker, who receives some on-the-job training, has no commercial program to follow and delivers a 20-40 minute oral language class to some or all of the classes in the school each day.

The eight "mixed-bag" communities have a mixture of programs ranging from DASL to Dene literacy classes to nothing. In terms of developing program and teaching according to students' needs, these situations are the most complex and diverse. The communities tend to be less isolated and more urbanized. Thus you might find fluent Dene speakers, not so fluent speakers and children who speak only English, all in one school and even in one classroom. To date, none of the Dene language programs in these eight schools appears to be really meeting the language needs of the Dene children in the school.

The school populations vary in size from about 16 in Trout Lake to around 400 in Rae-Edzo. None of these schools have language laboratories. Some of them are seriously lacking in resources such as audio-visual equipment, supplies, curricular program, trained teachers or language consultants. In a majority of the Dene communities there is only one school run by the territorial government, and it is to that school that parents must send their children.

However, there are a few Dene language programs in operation and I would like to share with you some of the methods and media that have been used in the delivery of these programs. First, let us look at second language programs.

Media for DASL

Concrete objects. Because the linguistic association between a word and what it represents is much stronger when the child learns it in relationship to the real object or event, the early teaching of DASL is made as concrete as possible. For example, one can use pieces of clothing; small toy animals, guns, cars, dishes, empty food containers, plastic fruit, cultural items such as fish nets, snowshoes, and tools such as a net mender, a hide flesher, and sewing accessories. The use of such materials is especially appropriate given the absence of more conventional types of curricular materials for DASL.

Pictures. Pictures are another important resource. Finding culturally relevant pictures can be a problem. The children's nature magazines such as *Owl* and *Ranger*

Rick have very good wildlife photographs. Calendars often have wildlife or other appropriate scenery on them which can be used. Many Native organizations are now producing artistically and culturally appropriate calendars and the pictures from these can be very successful. The "old standby" *National Geographic* always has some excellent photographs which can be used. Black and white photographs can also be very valuable.

There are some things to remember when using pictures:

a) have the school or yourself subscribe to one of the above magazines so that you can have access to the pictures.

b) if there are few magazines in your community, write to a church or an educational group in a nearby city and have them donate magazines to your school.

c) mount your pictures on construction paper, oaktag or bristol board. You can use rubber cement, but a dry mounting machine is superior. If the children will be handling the pictures a lot, laminating your picture will increase their durability and longevity. If your school doesn't have a laminating machine, send your material to a larger centre or school where it can be done.

d) color code the mounting paper according to topics or grammatical structure. This will make the pictures more accessible and organized.

e) wherever possible, mount the back of the pictures with flannel so they can be used with a flannelboard. You can also make a stick-out stand of bristol board and staple it to the back of the picture; then the picture can stand upright by itself on a table.

f) most important of all make sure the pictures are large enough to be seen easily by the whole group.

Flannelboard. This is a very useful medium. If you don't have one tack a piece of flannel or felt to a piece of plywood or to an old art easel. You can place pictures on the board for introducing and reviewing new vocabulary. Alternatively, you can place several objects on the board and call children up to do various actions with the objects to reinforce listening comprehension. You can use flannel figures to practice counting, to differentiate color, to tell short and simple stories, and to classify pictures according to initial sound.

Slides and tapes. Every school usually has an aspiring photographer. Collect a set of slides around a theme which you are covering and then make an accompanying tape with simple statements or simple questions about each slide.

Overhead projector and transparencies. Certainly not every school has these, but if yours does you should use them. You can make very simple line drawings to cover the grammatical structure you wish to reinforce. You can draw on the transparency while you are talking and the image will be large and clear.

Opaque projectors. Many language instructors I have worked with use opaque projectors, to make materials. This is done by taking small drawings from books, magazines or posters and projecting the image on the wall by means of the opaque projector. Place bristol board where the image is being projected, adjust the size of the image and then trace the outline of the drawing. You can color the picture with felt markers. This is a simple way to make your own posters.

Language master. Not every school has these either. However, many do and the machines are often buried under a pile of books in the storeroom or else out of order. They are usually in this state of disrepair because the school staff is not sure how to use them. They can be helpful especially if you want to break your class into groups. They are most useful for improving a student's pronunciation, reviewing sentence structures and for single question and answer responses.

Listening stations. Most schools have a tape recorder. To make a listening station, you need a small mixer and a set of six headphones. You can record practice language drills or short dialogues and a group of six or less children can practice with the tape. Once the children have some level of listening comprehension, you can use short, culturally appropriate books without text and record one sentence or two about each page.

Adapting materials for your language class

Every northern school has a supply room or teacher's resource room full of books, kits, and materials which were ordered by Miss Brown or Mr. Frump when they were there but have not been used much since. Everytime I do in service with language instructors we spend a few hours digging around in such a room. We usually find many materials that can be adapted for use in the DASL classroom. *Instructo* flannelboard kits for science, health and social studies have large colorful pictures with a foam backing, on a wide variety of topics such as body parts, food groups, outer space, weather, etc. Large wall poster sets published for language development or social studies are very useful in reinforcing vocabulary and grammatical structures.

If there is a French-as-a-Second-Language class in your school, the posters and overhead transparencies from those can sometimes be adapted to your language program. Obviously, you should try to acquire examples of other language programs that are linguistically and culturally similar to the heritage language with which you are working.

Methodology for DASL

Testing for language ability

Before teaching a body of material, a language teacher must know what has to be taught. This can only be determined on the basis of what students already know. No oral proficiency test is available for Dene languages and teachers are thus left to develop their own procedures, focusing on the two areas of listening comprehension and speaking ability. Such a test of Dene language proficiency should be developed as it would provide a useful tool for instructional grouping as well as for evaluation.

Grouping for instruction

When children are grouped for instruction according to language ability, those with a greater degree of fluency are less likely to become bored when the content is directed at those who are less fluent, and vice-versa. Grouping is greatly facilitated when extra teaching help is available. This can sometimes be supplied by another staff member or by parents and/or older students with at least some fluency in the Native language.

Instructional approach

DASL classes are usually more successful with children from about nine to 12 years old than with younger children. I recommend that the instructor create as much of an immersion situation as possible. Every minute used speaking English is a minute that could be used learning the heritage language. One of the ways to accomplish an immersion atmosphere is by the use of hand signals. Develop hand signals to indicate what you want the students to do and this will reduce the amount of English you need to use. As well, introduce commands in the heritage language immediately upon beginning classes and continue to do so on a regular basis. An example of such commands are:

Break into groups.
Line up.
Make a circle.

The teaching of literacy skills should not be introduced prematurely. Children must have a certain level of spoken proficiency before being expected to read and write. They should know (i.e. recognize upon hearing as well as being able to say and understand) what they are reading and writing. Once you think some of your students have reached this level, begin by using a language experience approach to beginning reading – but with the major emphasis always being on oral comprehension and expression.

Content

My experience has been that when DASL instructors have no program to follow which would tell them what to teach and when to teach it, they usually end up teaching a huge number of words – names of things. Unfortunately, it is really hard to carry on a conversation when you know hundreds of nouns but no sentence structures in which to put them.

A well-rounded program includes vocabulary, sentence structure and conversation. Organizing the content of your lessons around themes provides creative opportunities and interest. Berry picking is an enjoyable fall-time activity for Dene. Focusing on this theme, you can introduce structures around different parts of speech. For example:

Verbs	cook, pick, wash, clean, etc.
Adjectives	ripe, delicious, red, green, etc.
Nouns	berry, basket, pot, water, sugar, spoon, etc.
Locatives	in, on, under, etc.

Using the language meaningfully

Most important of all of the development of oral fluency is learning and practicing the language in a meaningful context. This means providing the children with real situations in which to use the language. This can be achieved in a number of ways. If the students have been learning language associated with berry picking, take the children out picking berries. You can then have someone come into the class and help them cook up the berries. Make sure the helper is a Native speaker of the target language. One of the best ways to help children use the language in a meaningful context is to expose them to other Native speakers of the language.

In the Northwest Territories, some schools have cultural inclusion programs where the students learn a variety of skills including traditional arts and crafts, and bush skills such as trapping, snaring and preparing hides. These programs are an excellent opportunity to reinforce language learned. In fact, I recommend that the two programs should be combined whenever possible to enable true language learning in a meaningful context to occur.

Heritage Language as the Language of Instruction

To date for programs where Dene is the language of instruction we have developed a series of eight limited vocabulary readers and eight accompanying workbooks which emphasize sight word recognition, comprehension and structural analysis. These readers were developed to be used within an integrated theme approach. The topics of the theme were determined by means of consultations with community elders and Dene teachers after which the teachers collected more information by means of tape recorded interviews which were later transcribed.

The approach involves teaching language arts, social studies, science, health, physical education and art around themes such as trapping, caribou hunting, spring hunt, traditional games and social activities. The teacher sets up activities which not only teach content but also introduce and reinforce certain vocabulary items. Then children's accounts of the activity are recorded by the teacher using a language experience approach. Once enough vocabulary has been introduced and can be recognized on sight by the children, they are introduced to the reader. Thus at all times oral language development is used as the basis for developing reading and writing skills, and reading material and activities are organized around culturally relevant themes.

It is possible to use this approach without readers and workbooks. However, to do this the teachers must be knowledgeable about the sound system and the grammar of the language so that they can adequately cover all the reading and writing skills by means of a language experience approach. At present the Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program is not providing adequate training in Dene literacy, grammar or language arts methodology, and therefore we must rely for the present on Dene basal readers and workbooks.

Conclusion

Delivering heritage language programs to rural and isolated communities is not easy. Lack of trained staff, program, materials and research are just a few of the areas of concern. These problems can only be overcome by allocation of adequate resources. Those responsible for deciding the funding level of language programs will provide the necessary funds only if they are truly committed to making heritage language instruction an integral part of the school program. Sometimes political pressure is required to get this commitment. I believe it is the responsibility of those who know what the heritage language program can become and what it will take to get it there, to inform and work with communities in order to generate the political pressure required to raise the level of funding.

The overriding topic considered in this paper is how to cope — how to cope with no programs, few materials, lack of equipment, lack of teacher training, too large classes, etc. Yes, we must cope; however, while we are coping we must be working for change. Otherwise we will be coping forever.

Second Language Learning for Children Experiencing Learning Difficulties

Irene Wiebe

There are several reasons why children might experience difficulty in second language learning. The second language learner has already gone through the process of learning one language and can in most cases already function effectively in one language and culture. As a result, there may be little urgency to acquire the second language. Previous language learning may further complicate the language learning process because the first language forms may interfere with new learning. Also, if the learning of the second language is seen as a threat to the person's self-image or cultural identity, there may be outright resistence to learning.

While children learning their first language have the time to discover the patterns of language themselves, school-age language learners need to learn a great deal of language quickly in order to continue their education or function in the second language environment. They must learn to listen, speak, read and write in the new language.

Children learning a second language are also faced with the problem of adjusting to a new culture and way of life. They need a supportive environment in which to do so. Their task is not simply one of learning language but also of learning the

many culturally-determined meanings and uses of the language as well.

Motivation is essential to any kind of learning. For second language learners, motivation will depend upon the quality of their experience with the new language and culture. Children must see language learning and participation in the new culture as both enjoyable and desirable. They must feel secure in the second language learning environment and be successful in their attempts at language learning if self-confidence and a positive self-image is to be developed and maintained. Thus, they must be provided with formal and informal opportunities to:

1. listen with understanding to concepts and ideas;
2. communicate ideas and feelings orally and confidently;
3. decode, comprehend, interpret and appreciate written material appropriate to their level; and
4. write clearly and correctly at an appropriate level.

Children must have a positive self-image if they are to succeed. They must be provided with opportunities to:

1. adjust to methods of instruction, discipline and program organization which may differ from previous school experience;
2. work at realistic levels of competence where success can be experienced;
3. work in emotionally secure learning environments;
4. develop habits which contribute to independent problem solving; and
5. develop positive ways of dealing with peer groups and adults.

If children are to exercise their natural language learning ability, a rich linguistic environment must be provided. They must hear a great deal of language and have many opportunities to use language in contexts of interest and relevance to them. Children must be given reason to speak and be encouraged to communicate their ideas and feelings using whatever language they have. While in some situations language errors should be corrected, there must also be time when communications can take place without the inhibition imposed by constant teacher correction. The children's errors should be accepted as a natural part of the language learning process. At the same time, errors should be observed and analysed and used as the basis for planning future lessons or in helping an individual student with a particular problem.

If children are to learn their language well, they must experience language in many different situations and in a variety of social interactions, e.g. talking to adults, shopping taking the bus, etc. Although many such situations do exist within the school, they must often be contrived within the classroom, or the children taken out of the school into the community.

Simply exposing children to language is not sufficient to produce the kinds of language skills necessary for success. Concrete experiences that will lead to the development of specific concepts and language must be provided. Children need to begin by acquiring the basic concepts upon which language can be built. Once basic concepts have been grasped, then language to express them must be practiced. Experiences must be structured so that selected patterns and vocabulary are repeated frequently enough to become apparent to the child.

Once these words and patterns have been perceived and their meanings understood, children must incorporate them into their own repertoire. Many opportunities for oral language practice within the context of the experience must be provided so that vocabulary and language structures are internalized. The second language learning environment must be structured so that repetition which takes place naturally during the course of early language development can occur as naturally and meaningfully as possible.

Language which has been practiced orally may then become the basis for reading and writing. These activities too must be structured to provide many opportunities for meaningful repetition of selected words and patterns within the context of an experience.

The progression in practice activities is generally from receptive to productive, and from highly structured to less structured activities. Students should have many opportunities to hear new language forms before being asked to repeat them and they should be able to recognize and understand words in print before engaging in writing practice. Language development proceeds at a different rate in each child. Slow progress in language development may have many causes. A child who is behind the peer group in conceptual development or who has more difficulty in grasping new concepts may make slower progress in language learning. Illness, problems of speech, vision, hearing, learning disabilities and emotional problems may also impede the language learning process. Therefore the teacher must always be alert to these possibilities in the child whose language development seems unusually slow and seek assistance from the proper agencies.

In order to overcome some of the learning difficulties which children have in second language learning it is essential to develop a sound child centred experience based learning program which would allow for the various learning styles of children. The following teaching principles should be included in the curriculum so that all children may experience some success and develop a good self-image:

1. Children's comfortable language is the starting point in any language program.

2. New language patterns must first be anchored in children's ears with abundant oral activity – so that children can later transpose those patterns into their own thinking, speaking, reading and writing.
3. Poems and stories are a prime source of speech models that children can imitate in exploring new patterns of language and in discovering more about the structure of the language.
4. Firsthand experiences, like a field trip, puppet show, etc., will be for some children a validation of concepts they are already verbalizing; for other children, the experiences will be events that lead to language.
5. Class discussions, long overused as the only means of developing conceptual language, must be balanced by experiences in creative dramatics, creative writing, choral reading, story telling, independent research, and other uses of language which also enhance the development and expression of concepts.
6. Purely verbal experiences must be balanced with less verbal experiences such as painting, dancing, pantomine, sculpting, music, rhythms and play with talk, all of which evoke thoughts and feelings that strongly influence the mainstream of language development.
7. The goal of language instruction is not to develop language skill in and of itself, but to help children claim their humanity through the use of language.

Professional Development for Language Teachers

Aline Charbonneau-Dagenais

The topic of this workshop seems to me to be too broad to be dealt with adequately in the time available to us. I shall therefore restrict myself to describing the general situation regarding the teaching of heritage languages in Quebec, sketching the broad outlines of a professional development program for language teachers and describing the development program introduced at the University of Montreal for heritage language teachers.

Teaching Heritage Languages in Quebec

Heritage language instruction is provided to young people in Quebec under two separate programs. The first, under the Ministry of Education, is known as the Programme d'Enseignement des Langues d'Origine (PELO – heritage language teaching program) . Since 1978 it has provided instruction in Italian, Greek, Portuguese and Spanish to some 600 students (approximately 40 groups) at the primary and secondary levels during regular class hours. The second is administered by the Conseil des classes ethniques du Quebec (Quebec ethnic classes board) and is funded by the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration. It provides heritage language instruction in Saturday and Sunday classes to more than 16,000 students between the ages of six and 17. Courses are taught by more than 850 teachers representing some 40 ethnic backgrounds. They include teachers who have Quebec teaching certificates and who are employed in primary and secondary schools as well as others who have no specific training in education and are employed in a variety of jobs.

The heterogeneous nature of the teachers themselves and the wide variety of teaching situations and student needs throw into sharp focus the importance of the need for development programs.

Broad Outlines of A Development Program

A development program should enable teachers to improve their professional skills and the quality of the student-teacher relationship. I would like to define these two headings, without however entering into a discussion of the specific content of such a program. There are two components to professional skill: the first, language skill, is mastery of the subject-matter, that is, the language, and the second, education skill is mastery of the teaching of this language.

Language Skill

To teach a language, a teacher must have a knowledge of the language. A teacher must have a mastery of the nature of the language and its various forms, its structure and usage as well as the cultural characteristics that underlie that usage. The teacher should also be aware of the process by which a mother tongue is acquired, as well as a knowledge of second language learning and the psychological, sociological and cultural factors which affect language learning. A teacher's language skill should go beyond the mere competent use of the language and, in Krashen's words (1978), "being a native speaker of a language does not qualify a person to teach it."[1]

Education Skill

In addition to knowledge of the language, language teaching presupposes a certain ability with regard to the subject matter of the course, in other words, with the language. A development program should provide teachers with the abilities and techniques needed to present classroom activities, and to organize and structure the course material. It should furthermore develop in teachers an attitude that regards development as a continuing process, enabling them to view their own teaching methods critically, and provide them with the means to adapt their teaching to the needs and interests of their students by giving them the ability to select and make use of proper educational materials.

1. S. Krashen, "Relating theory and practice in adult second language acquisition," SPEAQ, 2 (1978), 9-32

The Student-Teacher Relationship

Since the education process is made up of a series of interactions, a teacher should possess certain qualities which will facilitate the development of a good student-teacher relationship. Some authors, such as Robinett (1977)[2] and Strevens (1981)[3] have drawn up lists of the personal qualities which language teachers should possess. These include patience, tolerance, empathy and a degree of sensitivity towards the students. Some people are born with these qualities, but they can also be developed if one starts with the premise that "teachers are not born, they are made." Continuing with the list, the authors add some qualities which can improve not only the student-teacher relationship but the quality of instruction itself: inspiration, spontaneity, a fondness for the students and enthusiasm for the language being taught and also for the students' progress in the language. Strevens[4] adds that emotional maturity is an essential prerequisite for maintaining a student-teacher relationship that is stimulating both for individuals and for the group as a whole. This description of the skills and personal qualities needed by language teachers reflects the requirements of a development program for language teachers, a program which is doubtless too broad when it is a question of on-the-job training for teachers. Nevertheless, I believe that limiting on-the-job training to the mere presentation of a "new" method or a "miracle" kit of teaching materials constitutes a poor response to the needs of working teachers.

The response to teachers' development needs should be formulated in terms of what they lack in order to be able to teach more effectively in their present situation, given all the constraints on the introduction of such programs. At the University of Montreal we have taken into account the needs expressed by heritage language teachers and by the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration in developing the development program which I shall now describe.

Development Program Introduced by the Faculty of Continuing Education at the University of Montreal

As I mentioned earlier, the program was developed jointly, taking into account both the needs expressed by the teachers and the requirements with regard to such activities stemming from the structure of the university. To gain approval for the program, we took over the code and number of an existing course in the development program for teachers of French as a second language, and adapted the content to the 45-hour format for teachers of heritage languages. The course was divided into three parts. In the first part, we felt it was important for heritage language teachers to have at least a quick survey of recent linguistic research applied to language teaching. The courses in this first part (12 hours) took the form of exchanges, reflection and discussion on such aspects as the nature of language, varieties of language and differences between the mother tongue and another language. Participants were also given a short bibliography of articles on the fundamental linguistic aspects of language teaching.

The second part of the course consisted of 16 hours of work, during which the instructors presented and explained to the students a number of teaching techniques which they had practiced with their peers and with their students in Saturday classes. The instructors also introduced various types of language games adapted for groups of young people.

In the final part of the course, the heritage language teachers had an opportunity to prepare a portion of the course which they would give to their own students and to present it to their colleagues. The instructor played the role of an observer and filmed the sequences, so that the filmed classes could be reviewed and analysed by the teacher himself, by his colleagues and by the group's instructor. This seemingly simple exercise generated both enthusiasm and anxiety among the teachers, not all of whom liked to see themselves "live." Despite their initial reticence, however, the exercise proved both useful and stimulating for the teachers, who agreed on the need to rethink their teaching methods in light of the students and their needs.[5]

Professional Development of Heritage Language Teachers

Sandra Venables

The professional development of teachers is always a special concern, regardless of the subject matter taught. But language teachers have long suffered under the myth that if you can speak a language, you can teach it. This situation has created many problems, especially in the fields of English as a second language and heritage language teaching, since these subjects have traditionally been taught outside the established educational systems. We language teachers do need training, and once we receive it, we need to continue to further our knowledge and improve classroom techniques by availing

2. B.W. Robinett, "Characteristics of an effective second language teacher," *Viewpoints on English as a second language*, 35 (1977).
3. P. Strevens, "Training the teacher of foreign languages: new responsibilities require new patterns of training," *Revue canadienne des langues vivantes*, 37 (1981).
4. *Ibid.*
5. F. Debyser, "Les nouvelles voies de la formation des professeurs de langue vivante," *Le français, dans le monde*, 113 (1975), 6-8.
H.H. Stern, "Issues and options in language teacher training," *Actes du Colloque sur la formation des maîtres*, 19, University of Ottawa, 1979.

ourselves of professional development opportunities such as university courses, conferences, in-service workshops, membership in professional organizations, and most important of all, an active personal evaluation.

Heritage language education, I am well aware, is not a recent phenomenon in Canada, nor is English as a second language instruction. But, in both, it is only in the last decade or so that we have realized the need for more cohesiveness and consistency in our approaches to teaching. After a brief survey of the literature and of the programs in British Columbia, I realized how similar heritage language education today is to ESL education as it was 12 years ago. Despite the proliferation of classes for "New Canadians" then, there was little communication or coordination among the various programs and absolutely no requirements concerning teacher qualifications. Only the vaguest of answers could be made about numbers of students, content of courses, or location of classes. This situation seems to prevail in heritage language programs in British Columbia, as it was very difficult for me to obtain data on the subject. Therefore, I would recommend the formation of one "umbrella" association for each province, as was done in English as a second language teaching. Even though ESL today in British Columbia remains a varied and complex field of endeavour, it has achieved much by having a central forum for information gathering and lobbying. As Keith McLeod said, "if the ethnic groups other than the English and French want an education for their children that promises their own language and culture, they will have to continue to lobby for it . . ."[1] Research, too, has lent support for such an effort.[2] In the meantime, though, professional development for teachers need not be postponed. Five major approaches to professional development can be utilized, with or without the presence of a provincial organization.

First, attending a university teacher education course has always been primary. Since this type of study entails many obstacles (high tuition fees, travel time, registration requirements, etc.), I would suggest that one person be selected from an area or language program to represent the whole group. Many education-oriented courses are now offered in summer sessions and, even if there are no specific heritage language education courses available, another equally useful course would be an ESL methodology course, since learning strategies and teaching methods are the same, whatever the language being taught. Also, for really enthusiastic teachers, I would like to recommend a beginning course on descriptive linguistics to provide a good background in understanding the nature and structure of all languages. When your representative returns, he or she will then arrange to disseminate relevant information so that the whole group benefits.

If university training is out of the question, another option is attending conferences. Ten years ago, in the lower mainland region of British Columbia, our conferences drew only local people and we relied on outside speakers from linguistics and language departments to lead our seminars. I can see the same situation in heritage language teaching – outsiders giving advice and grassroots teachers listening. Fortunately, I can assure you that this dependence will be temporary. In a very few years, your heritage language conferences will be organized with resource people from the inside, just as occurs now in ESL conferences. And, along with increased local experts, will come increased attendance from far and wide. The annual Teachers of English as an Additional Language (TEAL) convention now attracts more than 600 participants from all over British Columbia, western Canada, and northwestern United States. In the early '70s, only 10 years ago, the attendance was less than 200. Furthermore, conferences, even large ones, do provide many opportunities for professional development. Plenary sessions give up-to-date, general interest information and smaller sessions provide more focused and specialized areas of study. Of course, between the segments, one can browse through publisher displays and teacher-made materials and, best of all, one can socialize with teachers from different towns or regions.

But conferences, like university courses, do pose certain problems. They are often in large, urban areas and prohibitive in costs for hotel accommodation and travel. Closer to home, then, is my third suggestion namely, in-service workshops. These usually take place right in the community and are planned to meet local needs. In British Columbia 10 years ago, this sort of service did not exist but, with the development of a unified ESL discipline, teachers were able to request (and receive) in-service training. Nowadays, groups of teachers anywhere in the province can ask the Ministry of Education, the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, the Multicultural Society, the Secretary of State, or the Association of British Columbia TEAL to sponsor workshops in areas relevant to their needs. Last November, for example,

1. K.A. McLeod, "A Short History of the Immigrant Student as 'New Canadian,'" in A. Woltgang, ed., *Education of Immigrant Students: Issues and Answers*, (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975) pp. 30-31.

2. Chumbow, B.S., *The Mother Tongue Hypothesis in a Multicultural Setting*, Compte rendu de 5e congres de l'Association internationale de linguistique appliquese, les Presses de l'Universite Laval, Quebec, 1981; J. Cummins, *Educational Implications of Mother Tongue in Minority Language Groups*, *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 34, 1987; - P.M. Migus, *Sounds Canadian: Languages and Cultures in Multiethnic Society*, *Peter Martt Associates Limited*, Toronto, 1975.

British Columbia TEAL, the Secretary of State, and the Ministry of Education sponsored a regional mini-conference on ESL in Prince George. More than 60 people attended from many towns in northern British Columbia for two full days of workshops and socializing. Further mini-conferences are being planned for next fall on Vancouver Island and in the East Kootenays. To sum up this recommendation, local in-service training sessions allow for more specific improvements in teacher preparation and development. Also, organizing such affairs is a beneficial professional development in itself.

As a fourth suggestion, organizing or joining a professional association is what I regard as the most beneficial approach to the professional development of teachers. The various networks that result from such a commitment of time and money bring the most immediate improvement in teachers. Starting such an organization is not all that complicated, either. British Columbia TEAL, our provincial ESL association, began with a small group of teachers who conferred with the school board, university, teachers' federation, and local administrators, seeking testimonials in support of such an association. For heritage language education, such support could come from provincial ministries, the Secretary of State, multicultural societies, Metropolitan Health, day care centres, churches, libraries, and community centres. Having a central umbrella organization such as British Columbia TEAL did much to streamline student progress through the various language levels and programs and to prevent overlapping and duplication of services. In addition to this coordinating role, a professional association always takes upon itself to publish newsletters or bulletins. These publications are usually the best source for advice on day-to-day teaching in such areas as testing incoming and outgoing students, audio-visual aids, classroom games and practical exercises. They also provide notices of workshops, job opportunities, conferences, and new teacher reference books or classroom materials and can serve as forums for airing controversial issues and strengthening teacher resolve. Please see Appendix 1 for the addresses of two recommended modern language teaching journals.

The last, and most important approach I have to suggest is to urge an unremitting and critical self-evaluation. None of the participants at this conference denies the value of retaining and promoting heritage language education, but those directly involved in instruction must always question their methods and effectiveness. Only by constantly monitoring our own approaches to student needs can we develop as teachers and know how to use the resources that universities, conferences, workshops, and professional associations provide for us.

Appendix 1

Canadian Modern Language Review
4 Oakmount Road
Welland, Ontario
L3C 4X8

Published: 4 times a year, $20.

Foreign Language Annals

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Inc.
2 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

Published: 6 times a year, $25 U.S.

Towards Bilingual Education in the Northwest Territories

David Wilman

The 1977 Ordinance Respecting Education in the Northwest Territories (N.W.T.)[1] details among a number of other matters the rights of northern peoples in relation to the languages to be used in schools and in regard to local control of educational programs. What is described is an almost idyllic situation where the Local Education Authority (LEA) for each community in the N.W.T. decides upon and directs the type of bilingual school program it wants. Spolsky[2] considers local control as one of the key functions in the development and operation of bilingual education programs but, although we have these policies and understand the theories, our bilingual practice is rather weak and is based in part on assumption rather than fact.

The first assumption, probably quite reasonable, is that a knowledge of English is vitally useful to an educated northerner. Although, at least in the eastern Inuktitut speaking areas, English is not essential in everyday life, a lack of ability in English imposes tremendous restrictions on a person's mobility and employability. For a unilingual Inuk, contact with all agencies other than the church and locally elected bodies must involve an interpreter.

A second, and again quite reasonable, assumption is that any need for English is instrumentally rather than integratively motivated. Although this is debatable, it is strongly supported by the frequently reiterated statements of Inuit political bodies and community leaders that the Inuit wish to retain their language and culture. This, and the fact that for more than 20 years sustained if misguided attempts at assimilation have failed; both tend to support the assumption.

More succinctly, the objective is not assimilation into the mainstream of Canadiana but rather the maintenance of first language and culture while embracing that part of Canada's majority language and culture needed in today's north; in other words, language maintenance with the desire to acquire a second language instrumentally motivated. Unfortunately, although we have this progressive policy,

1. Ordinance Respecting Education in the N.W.T., Department of Education, G.N.W.T., 1977.
2. B. Spolsky, *Educational Linguistics*, (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1978).

we face serious problems in its implementation; problems which to date have prevented the establishment of any viable, sustained bilingual school programs. To implement the language policy of the Department of Education it will be necessary to have:

i) an adequate supply of first language teaching materials for both language and content areas.

ii) a body of sympathetic and understanding southern teachers trained in bilingual education and/or TESL

iii) educational leadership genuinely committed to the policies described in the ordinance

iv) the genuine support of the N.W.T. Teachers' Association for bilingual programs, for local control, and for the involvement and training of northern teachers

v) the ability to advise and counsel LEA's on the language program choices implicit in the ordinance

vi) an adequate supply of trained northern Native teachers.

In the remainder of the paper I will discuss point (vi): our recent attempts to accelerate the generation of a body of trained northern Native teachers, specifically a body of trained Inuit teachers for the Eastern Arctic.

During its first 10 years of operation the N.W.T. Teacher Education Program graduated less than a 100 Native teachers. Of this number only 12 trained Inuit teachers are working in the Eastern Arctic at this time. An additional eight Inuit are enrolled in the eastern area teacher education program, four in the first year, four in the second.

Our immediate prospect, therefore, is that by 1982 there will be only 20 trained Inuit teachers for an area that operates 122 K-3 classrooms where Inuktitut is needed as the language of instruction, and where policy dictates that Inuktitut must be offered at least as a subject in grades 4-12. The situation is not quite as black as these figures indicate as there are also more than 70 Inuit paraprofessional teachers – rather misleadingly classed as Classroom Assistants (CA) – who in the absence of fully trained Inuit teachers offer K-3 programs in cooperation with southern teachers. Simple projections based on these figures demonstrate that a lack of trained Inuit teachers will, for years to come, impose severe constraints on the department's ability to implement its language policy unless, by one means or another, we are able to significantly increase the number of Inuit entering teacher training.

With this objective in mind, Mick Mallon, Director, Bilingual Education Program, and the writer, Consultant for Bilingual Education and Classroom Assistant and Teacher Training, have proposed a new approach to classroom assistant and teacher training. The proposal, which is described below become operational as a pilot project in September 1981.

Under the existing organization classroom assistants are offered training programs and can progress through Beginner and Certificate courses to the C.A. Diploma, with corresponding increases in pay. This C.A. training, however, is at present not

credited towards eventual teacher certification and so, upon reaching the Diploma level, classroom assistants are effectively dead-ended unless they want to give up the security of their position and salary for two further years of teacher training, on minimal allowances, and with no credit given for earlier training and classroom experience. This is clearly an unattractive option. In addition, many classroom assistants are unwilling or unable, for a variety of reasons, to leave their home settlements for a prolonged period of training. The combination of these factors tends to discourage classroom assistants from entering teacher training.

Our proposal is designed to overcome these problems by:

i) instituting a system of training allowances equal to 80% of the C.A. salary at time of entry to the program

ii) establishing a completely dual-track teacher training program, field-based/institutional, which rationalises the present separate C.A. and teacher training programs and which allows for switching tracks

iii) offering an accelerated training option for the best of the classroom assistants taking field-based training

iv) offering university accreditation for our courses, through McGill University in Montreal.

This dual-tracked approach, with the field-based and institutional programs offering the same course of studies, allows trainees to progress towards C.A. or teacher qualification, and provides a clear path to eventual teacher certification for Inuit beginning work as classroom assistants. This approach caters for all the potential Inuit teachers. At one extreme, it offers a full training program for the inexperienced high school graduate, while at the other it allows a married classroom assistant with family commitments to become a teacher with minimal short absences from home. Between these extremes, it also provides the novel option of an accelerated one year institutional program for classroom assistants who have completed the "Diploma" (which is now equivalent to the first year institutional program) in the field.

At each stage of the development of the proposal we consulted with and obtained approval from various groups involved in education in the Northwest Territories. These included the superintendents of education and school principals for the regions involved, the LEA's and regional education societies, and a number of territorial politicians. In all cases we received both support and encouragement and, in turn, this obvious support oiled and cumbersome processes of bureaucracy to an unexpected degree.

The Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program, as it is titled, is now operational and McGill accreditation has been obtained for about 90% of the courses already offered. This means that all registered students, whether field-based or institutional, are now officially McGill registered students. We have also received a grant of $400,000 from the Donner Canadian Foundation to help implement the program.

Finally, the proof of the pudding so to speak. During the past year we identified all serving classroom assistants already eligible for the accelerated one year option. There were 18. These people were offered a one-year training course with allowances equalling 80% of their salary. To date, 10 have accepted, three have declined and the remainder are still considering our offer. In addition, we have an unexpectedly high number of applicants for the full two-year program. The prospect for bilingual education in 1982 and beyond is now considerably brighter.

The Curriculum:

Interweaving Language and Culture

Put yourself in the place of someone who has been given the task of designing a curriculum for teaching a particular heritage language. You are immediately faced with a series of choices and, of necessity, compromises. First, you must decide on the knowledge, skills and values you wish to transmit. Then you assess the constraints or realities which place limits on the feasibility of teaching the desired content. The question becomes what can be taught given the limitations of time, available materials, money, facilities, students' present knowledge of the language, parental commitment, etc. The result of this process of choice and compromise is a series of general objectives which express what students will hopefully gain from the program.

However, for these objectives to be achieved they must be broken down into more specific components and decisions must be made about curriculum implementation, for example, which instructional strategies are most likely to promote students' acquisition of desired skills. Often in heritage language (and other second language) programs, instructional practices are incompatible with curriculum objectives. For example, development of communication skills is stressed as an objective but instruction focuses largely on the structures of the language itself.

In general, the process of curriculum development briefly sketched above has not been possible in many heritage language programs. Because of the obvious constraints of time and money, curriculum has tended to be developed on an *ad hoc* basis, often depending on the ingenuity of volunteers to assemble suitable instructional materials and help students work towards a vague notion of "proficiency" in the target language. It has also generally been necessary to devote considerable energy cajoling classroom space from unwilling "regular" school principals and pacifying classroom teachers who resented the weekend intrusion into their classrooms.

Because of the unsatisfactory nature of this situation, ethnic communities have become increasingly vocal in demanding that school systems recognize heritage language teaching as a valid educational priority and share in the responsibility for implementing heritage language programs. Communities feel that heritage language teaching can benefit considerably from the integration of classes into the regular school day as well as from the expertise and resources which school systems can bring to the task of curriculum development.

However, there is no illusion among ethnic communities that such a shift will resolve all the problems of teaching heritage languages. Whether heritage languages are taught in supplementary schools, public schools or private day schools there are serious implementation difficulties related to materials development, teacher supply and public acceptance. The dominant theme which emerges from the papers in this section is the need for cooperation both among community groups and between community groups and agencies in the wider society in order to overcome problems in heritage language curriculum development.

The first paper by Sharon Basman describes the mutual advantages of cooperative curriculum development for ESL and heritage language programs. She stresses the complementary nature of the two programs and the unique contribution of each to the academic and social adjustment of new Canadian students.

The papers by Jay Braverman and Diana Hanimyan describe two successful trilingual day school programs in Montreal and Toronto involving Hebrew and Armenian respectively. Linguistic, cultural and religious objectives are integrated into each curriculum and the commitment of parents and teachers is regarded as a major ingredient in the success of each school.

The last two papers propose certain strategies for promoting cooperation both within and among ethnic communities as well as between communities and government agencies in the development of curriculum materials and training of teachers for heritage language programs. Alberto di Giovanni describes the cooperative effort which resulted in the production of Italian texts suitable for the Canadian context and notes that the close links between Italian communities in different parts of Canada were extremely useful in disseminating the texts. Otto Baruch Rand makes several concrete proposals to reduce the present duplication of effort in ethnic language teaching. Specifically, he argues for the establishment of teacher training centres for the purpose of training community teachers in second language instruction techniques as well as the establishment of an intercommunal publishing company that would publish curriculum materials at the lowest possible price. He also suggests that long range planning for heritage language teaching based on explicit community priorities be encouraged and funded rather than short-term isolated projects.

It is clear from the papers in this section that the problems of curriculum development and implementation are multifaceted. It is not just a question of funding for materials preparation, although this is obviously crucial. A prerequisite for appropriate curriculum development is the elaboration of feasible instructional objectives and a knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of different pedagogical approaches (e.g. "communicative" versus "audio-lingual") in attempting to realize these objectives. Curriculum developers as well as heritage language teachers must be well-informed about recent advances in second language pedagogy if the materials are to be effective. Sharing of expertise and resources within communities, across communities and with ESL and "regular" program teachers is critical for the success of heritage language curriculum development efforts. Recognition of this fact prompted many conference participants to recommend the establishment of regional resource centres to facilitate the process of cooperation in curriculum development and dissemination.

The Complementary Role of ESL and Heritage Language

Sharon Basman

In this paper heritage language (herein HL) education refers to the teaching of an ancestral language to students from kindergarten to grade 8 for up to 2 1/2 hours per week, usually after regular school hours. This is the form of HL education which takes place within the Ontario public school system. By the teaching of English as a Second Language or Dialect, (called ESL/D), I refer to the in-school hours teaching of English to immigrant children or to children born in Canada and raised in non-English speaking homes who come to our system with limited facility in standard Canadian English. The point of this paper is to show how HL teaching and ESL teaching complement each other.

Both educators and non-educators alike have tended to view HL education as undercutting the teaching of ESL. Two main theories promote this view. On the pedagogic side, the theory is that HL programs weaken the ability of students to learn Canadian English. The argument sometimes has gone that if a student is not reasonably proficient in English within a year of Canadian schooling, the fault largely lies in the confusion inherent in learning two languages at the same time. Teachers often advise parents of ESL students to pull their children out of the HL classes in order that they may better concentrate on learning English. On the social side, the theory is that HL interrupts the social-educational purpose of ESL – that is, the overall integration of the New Canadians into Canadian society. The point of this theory is self evident and is, I believe, self evidently specious.

In actuality, we know that learning a second language takes years; and we know that over time students who are bilingual and even trilingual do academically at least as well, if not better, than monolingual students;[1] further, if students are having difficulties learning a second language, chances are that the problem lies in their conceptual and linguistic abilities in the native language.

Both on the pedagogic and social sides, a close look at the aims of both ESL and HL programs reveals that the two have meaning for each other. North York, a City in Ontario, has had since 1965 special ESL/D programs wherein qualified teachers work from a variety of models with small groups of children with language needs. The ESL/D Report, March 1981, has articulated very well the aims of these programs.

The aims are to allow children:

1. a) to acquire English through a program designed for that purpose
   b) to communicate with staff in their native language, when necessary, until such time as the second language is adequately acquired
2. to become oriented toward the school, its program offerings, its procedures, and the community which it serves, through a program designed for that purpose, and
3. to participate in an academic upgrading program if the students' level of academic functioning is below their Canadian peer group.[2]

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1 Jim Cummins, "Ancestral Language Maintenance: The Roles of School and Home" *Multiculturalism*, 4:2 (1980), p. 25.

2 The Board of Education for the City of North York, "English as a Second Language/Dialect Program," 1981.

I would further like to quote two key paragraphs from the ESL/D Supplementary Report, March 1980.

> *these children have other special needs beyond the understanding and use of Canadian English in their new environment. They require a total educational program which starts with the cultural and linguistic reality which they bring to schools, and which continues to encourage the children's awareness of, acceptance of, and pride in their distinct cultural identities.*
>
> *Through such programs, it is hoped that children will maintain sound links with their family and background. In addition, strong efforts will be made to increase the involvement of parents in their children's education. Through such means, a genuinely multicultural society should be fostered and developed without our schools.*[3]

In these quotes, we see that an emphasis is placed not only on learning English, but also on helping children retain their self-identity and recognition of their linguistic and cultural uniqueness.

The Ontario Ministry of Education began HL programs in 1977. Before 1977, certain ethnic communities operated HL classes at their own expense. At present North York supports 169 classes representing 18 languages in 68 locations for 4,225 students. Classes are optional and open to all children wishing second language instruction, even though the instruction is often in the child's native language, or from the child's own heritage. The programs are supervised by school board administration. Space and materials are provided in public schools for the most part.

The stated aims of the HL Department program in North York are as follows:

- maintenance, recovery and/or acquisition of Heritage Language;
- to help students more clearly understand the school program in a less formal situation;
- to help immigrant children fit comfortably into and succeed in the Canadian school system;
- to afford children a concrete opportunity through language development to maintain a sense of cultural identity and integrity and thereby to develop a healthy self-image and assurance of self worth;
- to forestall the development of alienation between children and their families;
- to promote a healthy school-community relationship based on the community's perception that the child's original heritage is a valuable reality in the Canadian cultural context;
- to place the school in a responsible position so that it may contribute to the creative development of Canada's multicultural reality;
- to encourage the community to take greater interest in and become more involved in the total life of the school;
- to enrich ourselves by helping us to understand and appreciate cultures other than our own.[4]

From the statements of aims, it is clear that both HL and ESL have at least four common objectives:

1. achievement of linguistic and academic potential in the school system;
2. development of positive self-concept;
3. smooth orientation of the immigrant child into the new school and community;
4. promotion of communication links between the home and school.

I wish to comment on specific strategies by which the HL and ESL programs can work together to better achieve these common goals.

Achievement of Linguistic and Academic Potential within the School System

The most important way young children learn is through being exposed to, and mastering, symbolic concepts, i.e. concepts in language and mathematics. Further, it is essential that immigrant children not be placed below their conceptual level by reason only of unfamiliarity with English. Therefore, bilingual tutoring in the regular class, the ESL class, at home, and in the HL class is desirable in order that immigrant students maintain and improve their level of conceptual sophistication while learning English. HL and ESL programs can be of immeasurable help in enabling the student to achieve this goal. Their very concern with language – the medium of thought – makes these programs particularly useful in trying to bridge the gap between conceptual ability and unfamiliarity in English.

Specific strategies to bridge this gap include incorporating story reading in the native language during the school day, and integrating bilingual materials into the class library. Picture books, books without words, and bilingual books which are of interest to *all* children in any language, are all desirable. Books with Canadian content are an added bonus.

While ESL uses the target language and HL uses the native language as the primary means of instruction, both should aim to educate a child into becoming at least bilingual and bicultural. Regardless of the different languages of instruction, it makes sense that both programs should as much as practicable use similar meth-

3. The Board of Education for the City of North York, "ESL/D Supplementary Report," 1980.
4. The Board of Education for the City of North York, "Annual Review of Heritage Languages Program," 1981.

odologies, topics, approaches, and similar ways of grouping students in order to prevent the child who is a student in both classes from reeling in a chaos of disparate educational techniques. If, for example, a student is used to a language-experience approach to reading, an activity-centred, student-centred program which allows for some individualizing and small group work during the day, then the after-school program[5] which may, for example, teach the whole group without any individualing, which may use only stencils and the blackboards as the main materials, which may allow for only a minimum of, or perhaps, no discussion between student and student, could lead to ultimate confusion, resentment and even failure.

It is essential that teachers in both programs visit each other's classrooms to ensure consistency. The most successful programs are those with the same teachers and teaching assistants.

Development of Positive Self-concept

The recently published Schools with Special Needs Report[6] reported that poor self-concept and emotional development are problems in our elementary schools. In these areas both ESL/D and HL teachers have an obligation to work together. Many ESL/D classes allow students to speak in the native language when appropriate and the same should happen in HL classes, especially when it is easier for one child or teacher to explain instructions in the child's dominant language. Themes such as All About Me, Parts of the Body, The Five Senses, The Family, Feelings, Clothing, Nutrition, House, School, The Neighborhood and Work, belong in both programs. If children see that topics of interest and of value can be discussed and studied in HL, ESL/D classes, and regular school curriculum, this will enhance their feelings of self-worth. Oftentimes topics introduced in the ESL program can be made clear by further discussion in the HL class.

Smooth Orientation into School and Community

Invariably immigrant children's initial contact with their new Canadian community is bewildering. Perhaps the most visible and pervasive source of bewilderment is a new and strange language. HL and ESL programs, therefore, can be of the utmost help in allowing immigrant students to enjoy a smooth orientation into school and community. However, it is here, in particular, that we must be vigilant to not allow the aims of ESL to smother the aims of HL. As stated, many New Canadian parents are reluctant to put their children in HL classes owing to the primary desire that their children learn English. The point is that while the wishes of the parents are important and must be respected, it may be that children will function better if they attend both HL and ESL classes. The HL programs should buttress children who are uncertain and even fearful of their new Canadian setting.

One technique here is the promotion of buddies who speak both English and the native language to show the student around the school. Also, HL instructors can be used to help conduct the initial educational assessment of children in their native language.

Communication between Home and School

Perhaps the most important way in which HL and ESL can work together is in promoting communication between home and school, since school only has meaning to a community insofar as it is perceived and understood by the community. Otherwise it is simply an unconnected institution.

This problem becomes magnified with second language learners. The school is not only a bewildering place for new students, but for their parents. While orientation into the school was dealt with under the last topic, it is also relevant here. It is important that both second language learners, parents and children have confidence in the school.

Some of the specific concerns that immigrant parents have with schools and which schools have with parents as reported in the "Schools With Special Needs Report" are that:

1. home and schools perceive each other to have different disciplining methods; and
2. home and school stress different values with regard to expectations and responsibilities.

Specific ways in which the common problems can be dealt with are outlined by Jack Berryman in his article "Heritage Languages" in which he calls for HL instructors to act as interpreters and resource personnel for school staffs, for HL and ESL teachers and school staffs in general to invite parents to participate in the school life through the HL class.

Another specific way for both HL and ESL to complement each other is for the HL instructor to be present in parent-teacher interviews, where relevant information can be shared in two languages if

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5. In order for students to perceive the study of HL as an ultimately important subject, serious consideration should be given to incorporating, where possible, the HL classes into regular school hours. After-school programs are, in a sense, artificial and segregated from the mainstream of the child's day. Such integration would logically be possible in schools where there are sufficient numbers of students to warrant a class, and where the parents are in favor of the concept.

6. The Board of Education for the City of North York, "Schools with Special Needs Report," 1981.

necessary about the child's progress at home and at school. The information collected, and the objectives and strategies outlined can be recorded in a central file for use by both HL and ESL teachers.

Summary

I began this discussion by citing the two common arguments made against HL – the pedagogic and the social-educational arguments. Research tells us the pedagogic argument has no merit. The very nature of our society, vibrantly multicultural, demonstrates the error in the social-educational argument. I then outlined the aims of both HL and ESL and attempted to show how these aims complement each other. Their fundamental commonality lies in the fact that both HL and ESL are programs geared to accommodate the newly arrived immigrant in Canada; by their very nature they offer school and community alike an important means of helping students to become adjusted to Canadian life, while maintaining a proud sense of their own traditions.

The United Talmud Torahs of Montreal: A Model of Trilingual Education

Jay Braverman

The United Talmud Torahs of Montreal, founded in 1896, is a community Jewish Day School system consisting of four elementary schools (nursery through grade 6) and two Herzliah high schools (grade 7 through 11), totalling 2,000 students. More than 85% of the students speak English at home. The trilingual curriculum in the elementary school is divided as follows: 14 hours of instruction in the French language; 12 hours of instruction in the Hebrew language; 9 hours of instruction in the English language; a total of 35 hours per week. A typical day begins at 8:15 a.m. and ends at 3:45 p.m. Thus, each student has at least three classroom teachers in addition to other specialists.

Although the major portion of religious studies is taught in the Hebrew language, the Jewish atmosphere in the schools is reflected in the French and English studies as well. A pilot project teaching certain aspects of Jewish social studies in French has proven quite successful. In all, the student learns that the totality of Judaism is rooted both in the universal brotherhood of man, as well as in the particular destiny of the Jewish people. Above all, the vitality of Jewish tradition and its relevance to the contemporary world is stressed. Student achievement in general studies (a term preferable to "secular studies") is comparable or superior to that of students in similar programs in unilingual or bilingual schools in the Province of Quebec. Graduates of Herzliah High School, for many years, have been admitted to leading English, Hebrew and French language universities throughout North America and Israel, with excellent results.

Experience has proven that the introduction of Hebrew and French at the nursery and kindergarten levels results in an acceptance of these languages by the student, leading to a natural fluency in both languages during the first cycle of elementary education. The fact that *subjects*, and not only *language arts*, are taught in Hebrew and French reinforces the utilitarian aspects of the languages in the minds of the students. Many creative projects result from the integrated efforts of the teachers of all three languages. Certain general studies subjects are also integrated, such as mathematics which is taught both in English and in French. Most cocurricular activities such as assemblies, holiday celebrations and performances for parents are conducted in the three languages as a natural extension of classroom activities.

The teachers have noted that the fact that the students receive instruction in two non-maternal languages daily does *not* detract from their ability to express themselves in English. In fact, many "transference" values involving the various languages and disciplines accrue, to the benefit of the students. Skills and insights gained in one language are transferable to the other languages, given the nurturing environment of the school. The student realizes, at an early age, that the same idea is expressed in different ways in different languages. This helps to develop a sense of universalism and sophistication at an early age. The English language teachers are thus able to "cover" much more than "nine-hours' worth" of curriculum weekly, due to the above transference of knowledge. Ultimately, the success of the entire educational endeavor is due to the dedication of the teachers, and the time they spend planning and sharing educational experiences.

Hebrew studies constitute the *raison d'etre* of the United Talmud Torahs. As noted in its by-laws, the school is dedicated to "undertake and pursue, favor and aid education conducive to the perpetuation of the Hebrew religion, ritual, language, festivals and customs; to aid those who desire to devote themselves to these studies, to assist them to attain these objectives."

The Hebrew Studies Curriculum for the Elementary Department is unique. It evolved as a result of the intense cooperative effort on the part of the administration and the more than 40 teachers of Hebrew studies in the four elementary schools. The final product represents an amalgamation of the efforts of the classroom teachers and the educational supervisors.

The curriculum for each grade is divided according to the core subjects taught: Hebrew Language and Literature, Bible (Torah and Prophets), Jewish customs, prayer, the history of the Jews, the geography and current events of the State of Israel. The language of instruction for *all subjects* in this curriculum is Hebrew. Dis-

cussion revolves not only around the texts that are studied, but involves current events and the contemporary world of the child. The success of the Israeli exchange teachers in the school system proves the effectiveness of Hebrew as a language of instruction.

The teaching of issues and events relating to modern Israel is a central theme. The Israeli exchange teachers bring the subject to life in the classroom and audio-visual resources are used to help reinforce and enhance the academic impact of the teachers.

The francization program at United Talmud Torahs began well before the introduction of Quebec's Bill 22, as early as 1958, when the study of geography and health was introduced in French. In 1971, the United Talmud Torahs pioneered and extended kindergarten program giving children an enriched educational experience in three languages: Hebrew, French and English.

The initial approach to both Hebrew and French is aural-oral, laying a firm foundation for reading and writing. It is our experience that when children have been exposed to multiple languages at a young age, they are able to deal with them very comfortably as they grow up. The children naturally learn to address each teacher in his or her particular language, and fluency quickly follows as the child gains in maturity.

Approximately 700 students attend the two Herzliah high schools of the United Talmud Torahs of Montreal. The Hebrew curriculum rests on the firm academic basis provided by the Elementary Department of the United Talmud Torahs.

The three basic traditional Jewish values upon which the Hebrew curriculum is based are: The Bible, the Land of Israel and the People of Israel. All of the subjects in the Hebrew program are taught in the Hebrew language. In addition to the academic goals of Herzliah, students are encouraged to identify with and take an active part in their communities. The school emphasizes at every opportunity the integration of general and Jewish studies. In this way, the student learns to appreciate the interrelationships between universal values and particular Jewish ideas and ideals. The relationship between the Bible and Jewish history on one hand, and Western literature and history on the other are examples of academic integration.

The Department of Education of Quebec, as of June 1975, has authorized the courses of study in Hebrew Language and Literature in Secondary IV (grade 10) and V (grade 11) for two certificate credits respectively. All Secondary IV and V students are automatically registered to sit for these examinations, the results of which appear on the Secondary V Certificate upon graduation.

In general studies, Herzliah high schools basically follow the program of the Minister of Education of Quebec for secondary schools. In many instances this program is supplemented by additional school activities. Every effort is made to enhance the educational experience with projects such as science fairs, student publications, drama and musical activities, all of which lend a quality of reality and pragmatism to the theoretics of the academic subjects. Students are encouraged to participate as much as possible in all of these activities – and most of them thoroughly enjoy the atmosphere these projects provide.

The French program is quite intensive, based on the many hours of French studies which the students receive in the elementary years before coming to Herzliah. Additional French conversation periods are scheduled to help the students feel more fluent in the language. French speakers and drama groups are invited to the school and students are encouraged to make dramatic presentations, in French, for their colleagues. A very effective school counselling program has been developed in each Herzliah. School counsellors are available to students both on an individual and on a group basis, to assist in personal, career and academic counselling. All of their efforts are coordinated with the teaching staff, under the supervision of the principals.

Special mention should be made of the highly successful Judaic program. This program is open to students who have *not* attended an elementary Hebrew Day School, and who have a limited Jewish studies background, but who wish to enter a Hebrew Day High School in Secondary I (grade 7). The intensive Hebrew courses which they receive in Secondary I and II enable them to enter the regular Hebrew stream in Secondary III. Experience has proven that bright and highly motivated students succeed in this program to such an extent that they fully integrate into all academic and cocurricular activities. Many have risen to leadership positions in the school.

The State of Israel is a focal point for both the curriculum of Herzliah High School and its activities. Israeli exchange teachers serve as a living link to the State of Israel. However, one can never truly capture the essence of a country without being there. Thus, in 1972, the Board of United Talmud Torahs inaugurated the first Secondary III (grade 9) Israeli trip offering the students an opportunity of living in Israel, not merely as tourists, but as native Israelis. The trip is conducted entirely in Hebrew and lasts for nine weeks, from the beginning of June until the middle of August. Approximately 90 students participate each summer, returning to spend two more years at Herzliah High School, with renewed vigor and interest in their Hebrew and Jewish studies as well as pride in their Jewish identity.

At the United Talmud Torahs of Montreal, the ultimate educational goal is not the language, subject or textbook, but the *individual student*. The various languages and disciplines are constantly balanced into an integrated whole. Beginning with kindergarten, there are individualized and group learning programs according to subjects and levels within each class and grade. There are often several reading and mathematics levels within each grade so that each child can achieve his or her potential. The latest audio-visual materials and methods are used to stimulate learning. Students with learning difficulties are given special attention by a psychologist who is a permanent member of the staff.

Through this approach, each student is provided with a meaningful and significant Jewish education, integrated with a high quality and achievement in general studies. The many alumni who have distinguished themselves in professions, careers and public service in Canada and Israel bear testimony to the efficacy of these goals and methods of education. In 1973 the United Talmud Torahs of Montreal was awarded the prestigious Shazar prize by the President of the State of Israel as the outstanding Jewish school in Canada.

Holy Cross Armenian Day School: A Trilingual Educational Model

Diana Hanimyan

The Holy Cross Armenian Day School was founded in 1978 by a group of devoted Armenians under the guidance and leadership of a broad-minded and intellectual bishop, His Grace, Rt. Rev. Bishop Aris Shirvanian. They believed that, in order for the children of immigrant parents to adapt themselves to the Canadian way of life without losing their self identity, they should be familiar with their own language, culture, and heritage. The children attending this school, therefore, have a common cultural background. They are mostly first generation Canadians whose parents have come from Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt. The aim of our educators is to try to mold them as successfully as possible into the Canadian mosaic.

The ultimate aim of education is the shaping of personality. The school shapes the personality of the students by equipping them with the resources of human culture. Therefore, the more children are aware of their heritage the more fully they will grow and the more they will be able to contribute to their own society. Armenian children have a rich and proud heritage. An awareness of their inheritance contributes to a healthy self image which is essential for building a confident personality and a balanced life.

At the Holy Cross Armenian Day School, the school day for grades 1-6 is divided mainly into three parts: 3 1/2 hours of English, 1 1/2 hours of Armenian, and 1/2 hour of French. The children learn to think and express themselves in these three languages. All subjects are taught in English and the curriculum for the Ministry of Education is followed very closely. Armenian language, history, religion, folk music and folk dancing are part of the Armenian program. French starts with grade 1 for 1/2 hour per day. Kindergarten classes have 2 1/2 hours of English and 2 1/2 hours of Armenian per day. The children stay at the school from 9:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. Most of the children are bused in and out from all parts of Toronto. A small portion are brought and picked up by their parents.

The important factors which contribute to the success of this system are as follows:

1. **Qualified and conscientious teachers.** We have teachers who are willing to work toward making the school a success, to cooperate and communicate closely to bring about a high standard, to reach for the best in the three cultures and to meld them together. There is excellent cooperation among the Canadian teachers as well as between the Canadian and Armenian teachers. In addition to acquiring an Ontario Teacher's Certificate, the teachers on our staff must possess that unique quality of dedication. Our half-day English curriculum makes it possible for us to select teachers who are on the supply list of other boards of education, thus enabling us to keep communications open with the Public and the Separate School boards. A certificate in ESL is certainly an asset. Every child we deal with is capable of some achievement, some contribution, even though that achievement may be very modest or perhaps very different from what he or she expected or intended. It is the duty of the teacher to bring about this achievement, this sense of self-identity in the child.
2. **Discipline.** The word discipline refers to day-to-day routine; it means to disciple, to bring up a child. Under no circumstances does it mean punishment. The children come to school wearing their clean uniforms; girls in navy blue jumpers, white blouses and white socks; boys wearing gray pants, white turtlenecks and navy blue blazers. We go back to the conventional type of classroom behavior, imposed from above. It is a teacher-directed approach aimed toward self-direction and self-motivation. Having condensed the number of hours devoted to each of the three languages, we have to have very organized teaching methods, as well as controlled classes so that all the children will learn effectively. They must learn their three "Rs" quickly and well. It is sometimes believed that this control from above is apt to go to pieces in circumstances where the control is withdrawn, e.g. the absence of the teacher. This has not been our experience so far.

3. **Small Classes**. We presently have 98 children placed in nursery to grade 4 classes. Our ultimate aim is to go to grade 6 in the next two years. Children come mainly from middle to upper class families. The reduced amount of time in the English program has led our educators to limit class sizes to 25. One has to take into account the students who are not as bright as others, or students who might have difficulties with certain language and math concepts. I have to admit that the children have to be of average or above average intelligence to be able to succeed in this particular trilingual educational system.
4. **Special Services**. One of the aims of the school is to have effective community relations. This can be achieved through the contact of individual teachers with children's parents.

The following opportunities are created for this purpose:

a) visiting homes of students
b) inviting parents to the school during school hours to sit in classrooms
c) keeping in touch with the parents by phoning them often
d) organizing informal social evenings for parents and teachers.

The school is totally funded by the Armenian Community. Only a third of the budget is met through tuition fees. The rest comes from public donations. A small sum is given by the government through the Cultural Enrichment Program and for teaching French (about $1,300). Community relations are, therefore, of utmost importance. Dances and banquets are organized for fund raising purposes. But this school should not remain as an escape for the few, it should become a centre of experimentation in testing new teacher-learning strategies and new parent-teacher relationships. Then it will have a lot to offer. Good relationships should be established with public schools through the exchange of ideas. This latter has been relatively easy because our school is located in the five classrooms of the Terraview Heights Public School rented from the Scarborough Board of Education.

Although there are as yet no graduates of the Holy Cross Armenian Day School, I am confident on the grounds of sound teaching techniques, good teaching conditions and dedicated teachers that our children will be successful in their future years in any school system they will enter. After all we continue to utilize the great contributions of the past but make much use of current materials which change with changing times.

Standardization of Heritage Language Curriculum: The Italian Example

Alberto di Giovanni

In this presentation I would like to offer you an example of how textbooks and curriculum can be developed within a linguistic group for use coast-to-coast without standardization of the programs themselves. It is quite obvious that the Italian-Canadians of Toronto who have considerable exposure to Italian on radio (24 hours a day), TV (one program every night) and through their own daily newspaper are in a very different situation from Italian-Canadians in small rural communities. So, clearly, because of these different needs it is impossible to standardize entire programs. However, what can be done is to create a mechanism for consultation whereby similar program objectives and units of study which reflect the needs of children all over the country can be developed. I think the Italian-Canadians have implemented this approach quite successfully over the past few years.

The first step was to form an Italian-Canadian advisory committee representing several of the major Canadian cities. The members of this committee decided on the strategies and approach we were going to use in the development of textbooks. So far we have developed two textbooks and workbooks, funded by the Multiculturalism Directorate, whose content is very different from the type of books we used to get from Italy. As you know, the visual aspects of curriculum materials are very important at the primary level. Children must be able to identify concrete objects and events depicted on the page before the language itself can become meaningful to them. Thus, in our textbooks we have pictures related to typical Canadian events and occasions such as Halloween, camping, feasts/holidays, etc.; also, the classrooms depicted are typically Canadian rather than Italian. Thus, it is possible to standardize the methodology and make it applicable to all communities even though teachers will obviously need to take into account the special needs and situations of their students in implementing this methodology.

When the first draft of the book was completed we sent it to teachers in various locations to get feedback from them. This slowed the production process quite a bit but it was useful in improving the quality of the book. The first edition of 5,000 copies was gone within a month and the second printing is almost gone. The effective distribution of the book was facilitated by a teacher who went across the country to present the book to Italian community schools and organizations. Our contacts with these groups was important in ensuring good distribution.

These texts are now being used in the teaching of Italian all over the country and we recently sent 400 copies to New York in response to a request. We feel the use of the text outside Canada as well as within Canada is a positive reflection of its quality.

In order to help children appreciate not only their heritage in centuries past but also their Italian-Canadian heritage, the advisory committee decided to emphasize, in the intermediate grades, short stories, readings, etc. related to the experience of Italian-Canadians on the prairies, in the mines of Northern Ontario, in Halifax when they arrived, etc. We see this as a means of achieving a desirable form of standardization. This type of cooperation has worked well for Italian-Canadians and might also prove useful for other groups.

Towards Standardization of the Curriculum for Teaching Ethnic Languages?

Otto Baruch Rand

Before discussing the opportunities for standardization in teaching of ethnic languages, one must consider the merits of such an orientation in what is still a very rugged field. There is a world of difference between the teaching of ethnic languages, as presently conducted by ethnic communities, and the teaching of foreign languages in public schools where it is largely done by standardized methods and trained teachers. The goals are different, the motivation is different, the methods are different, the tools are different, and the setting is different.

In public schools foreign languages are taught primarily for intellectual enrichment and broadening of horizons; however, the major reasons for teaching ethnic languages tend to be emotional, e.g. cultural self-preservation, nostalgia and a sense of forging unity within ethnic communities. While in teaching foreign languages in public schools we speak of *creating* a cultural milieu for better understanding of the language, in teaching ethnic languages the understanding and *transmission* of the cultural milieu permeates the whole enterprise. Language and culture are totally intertwined. For the Mennonites, Hutterites, Greeks, Jews and, to a large extent, the Ukrainians, the ethnic language is also a part of their religious ritual; for the Chinese, Italian, Portuguese and others, it is a link with families overseas; for the Icelandic (in Manitoba), Irish, Swedish and others it is a link with the past which they don't want to sever; for Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Croatians and other repressed national groups in Europe, their language is a symbol of national pride and assertion of national identity; and for many ethnic groups it is a combination of some or all of the above.

As we see it, in each group there is a strong emotional dimension to the wish to transmit the ethnic language, and therefore one can understand a certain amount of possessiveness about the institutions where this labor of love takes place, for the founding of such institutions was, as a rule, a grassroot movement, accompanied by struggle and frustration.

With this background one can easily understand that any outside interference, e.g. attempts at standardization, which does not take the form of unconditional financial assistance, might be viewed by the ethnic communities with great suspicion, even as intrusion into their "sacred territory." Add to it the fact that many ethnic groups engaged in teaching their languages were historically hostile to, or at least suspicious of, each other, and you find even the road to intercommunity cooperation sometimes blocked by prejudices. Moreover, because of isolation and geographical distances, even groups of the same ethnic origin don't always cooperate and communicate in furthering common goals.

Having pointed to some of the forces that may resist standardization, one can now recognize conditions that may facilitate cooperation and acceptance of assistance that is not threatening in nature. I believe that more than merely wanting to tend their own shop, people who support institutions for teaching ethnic languages — and certainly those who teach in them — want to succeed in what they are doing. After all, if students experience frustration instead of satisfaction, the frustration may extend from the language to the entire culture that the community tries to transmit, and the whole enterprise will turn into an exercise in futility. Cognizant of such a danger, it would be hard to reject professional assistance in training of teachers in methods of teaching foreign languages, although because of the differences in goals and settings, modifications are likely to be necessary in the application of foreign language teaching methodology to the teaching of ethnic languages. To promote effective teaching of ethnic languages, it would be appropriate for the federal government, possibly in cooperation with the provinces, to set up teacher training centres specifically for training community teachers in second language instruction. Such centres could either host from time to time groups of teachers from various locations or dispatch teams of trainers to various communities upon request. In any case, teaching culture through language should be one of the main themes in such teacher training seminars.

Further, each community institution that teaches ethnic languages must sooner or later recognize that it would be a futile exercise for each one to compose a curriculum separately, basing it largely on dubiously selected texts. Here intracommunal cooperation, rather than federal imposition, is desirable. The federal government already has a funding program for development of teaching aids and textbooks for teaching ethnic languages. Advisory committees of various ethnic groups assist the department responsible for the funding to determine what projects merit financial assistance. What is lacking is insistence that the ethnic groups come up with long range plans of action based on priorities per-

ceived by them, rather than with incidental projects that may or may not be important in the transmission of the ethnic culture. For this purpose, federal subsidies should be established to enable representations of the various ethnic communities to meet twice or thrice a year. In such meetings a "national" policy of each ethnic group in relation to the teaching of their ethnic language would be forged. I would hope that on the basis of such policies, the government would fund preparation of basic textbooks for the teaching of ethnic languages in Canada, for a variety of instructional settings (Sunday or Saturday schools, after school classes, immersion situations, etc.). It is obvious that every such setting requires different texts. Rather than subsidizing commercial publishers, it should be possible to set up an intercommunal publishing company that would publish the texts at the lowest cost possible. In any case, the viability of such a company should be explored.

Finally, efforts should be made, by subsidies and persuasion, to attract university students to specialize in teaching ethnic languages and convince universities to offer courses in research and teaching of ethnic languages.

To achieve all these objectives the government may have to set up a coordinating body, similar to the Bureau d'Education Française, and attach it regionally to the office of the Minister of State for Multiculturalism. In each province such a bureau should be staffed by experts who specialize in teaching the most common ethnic languages of the province (e.g. in Manitoba: German, Ukrainian, Hebrew and Icelandic). It might be a costly undertaking, but if this whole issue is serious and not merely a token concern, it cannot be handled half-heartedly.

I am aware that my proposals may not lead to any amount of standardization in the teaching of ethnic languages. I am actually opposed to this concept altogether as is evident from the question mark in the title. What they will lead to will be intercommunity, intracommunal and government-ethnic communities cooperation, and hopefully to a major improvement in the results of the numerous isolated efforts in the teaching of ethnic languages.

The Community:

From Apathy towards Full Participation

It is clear that debate about heritage language teaching in the public educational system goes far beyond the pedagogical sphere. At its core it is a political debate about priorities, status and power within our society. In the past, the dominant groups have used a variety of tactics to prevent ethnic communities from participating fully in the power structure. A major way was to physically punish minority students for speaking their first language at school and to denigrate non-Anglo-Saxon cultures such that students were encouraged to internalize negative attitudes towards their own cutural and linguistic roots.

The effects of these social pressures were documented in a classic American study reported in 1943 by Irving Child.[1] Child investigated how second-generation Italians living in New England felt about their own identity. Three contrasting patterns were apparent: one subgroup tried to make themselves as American as possible, rejecting their Italian background; a second subgroup rejected the majority society and proudly associated themselves with things Italian; the third subgroup was unable to identify with either American or Italian cultures and tended to withdraw in apathy.

It is clear that none of these modes of adjustment permits the ethnic community to participate fully in the wider society. Those in the first subgroup no longer view themselves as part of the ethnic community, but this is no guarantee of acceptance by the majority group. The second subgroup has rejected participation in the wider society, while the third feels no sense of belonging to either the wider society or to the ethnic community. The provision of only these three adjustment options by the dominant group precludes any significant influence by ethnic communities on the values and priorities of the society, thereby allowing the existing cultural, linguistic and religious status quo to be maintained.

However, the enormous moral and economic cost to the society both in terms of the denial of human rights and the squandering of linguistic and educational resources has given rise to a reappraisal of these policies. In the years before and after the announcement of the federal multicultural policy, many commentators argued strongly for educational and social policies which would encourage a fourth "bicultural" mode of adjustment, one which was not apparent in Child's study. Wallace Lambert, of McGill University, for example, argued that children of linguistic minorities

> *should be encouraged from as many sources as possible to maintain their dual heritage . . . they are North America's richest human resource . . . I don't think they will be able to fully be North American unless they are given every possibility of being fully French, Portuguese, Spanish, or whatever as well.*[2]

According to this view, students who retain pride in their home culture as well as in Canadian culture as a whole will feel able to identify strongly with and participate fully in both. The feeling of being "rooted" in the home culture and language provides a foundation for full participation in the wider society. This theme emerges strongly in the papers in this section and the authors stress the importance of the heritage language in the community's sense of its own identity.

Paul Martindale discusses the effects of the Ontario Heritage Languages Program on the individual language communities, the interacting heritage language communities and on the English/French community. A major theme he highlights is the

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1. I.L. Child, *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).
2. W. E. Lambert, "Culture and Language as Factors in Learning and Education," In A. Wolfgang (ed.) *Education of Immigrant Students* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1975).

increased desire for participation by the heritage language communities as a result of the program. Mobilization over the issue of language has encouraged the multicultural community to move from an apathetic and reactionary stage of citizenship involvement to an interacting and full participation stage.

H. de Bagheera describes the incorporation of heritage languages into the public school system in Montreal. In contrast to some regular program teachers who advised parents that heritage language teaching would impede their children's academic progress, de Bagheera suggests that children's rights to an adequate education might be violated by the failure to build on the linguistic resources which children bring with them to school. Heritage language teaching, he argues, has a major role to play in bridging the "family gap" brought about by the fact that parents often do not understand the language of the child's schooling. The incorporation of heritage languages into the school provides a means whereby parents can participate meaningfully in their children's education.

The papers by Lena White, John Shaw and David White discuss efforts to revive endangered species of language, notably the Potawatomi language on Walpole Island and Gaelic in Cape Breton. The authors acknowledge that in neither situation are these efforts likely to be successful and they view the loss as primarily an impoverishment to the community's sense of identity, or as David White puts it, to their ability "to comprehend fully the concepts of our philosophy, history and world view generally." John Shaw suggests that bilingual education programs similar to the Ukrainian-English and German-English programs in the prairies might help bring about a revitalization of interest in learning Gaelic. The conviction underlying these efforts at revitalization, according to Shaw, is that language is a necessary ingredient of a living culture.

The final paper by Maggie Ip stresses the role of parent involvement both in enlightening government agencies about the importance of heritage language teaching and providing support and input to school administrators engaged in implementing such programs. Heritage languages are regarded as an essential aspect of children's personal and academic development. Given this fact, Ip argues, the school must share the responsibility of promoting children's knowledge of these languages and preparing them for full Canadian citizenship.

A major theme to emerge from these papers is the authors' perception of change in the community's perception of itself and its role in the wider society. Communities now view it as a right to maintain an ethnic component to their identities and to contribute the richness of their unique cultures to the wider Canadian society. The fostering of heritage languages is regarded as essential to this process and the mobilization of ethnic communities over this issue illustrates their growing willingness and ability to participate confidently in the political life of the society.

The Incorporation of Heritage Language Education within the Public School System and its effects on the Community

Paul Martindale

The creation of heritage language programs by public school boards has been an extremely positive experience within the context of Metropolitan Toronto. In a metropolitan city where the non-French and non-English communities account for 29% or well over 616,500 people, it is not surprising that Memorandum 46 (Appendix 1) from the Ministry of Education in 1977 was enthusiastically received, especially by the heritage language communities. Prior to Memorandum 46, heritage language instruction was conducted by the multicultural language groups themselves. A flurry of activity involving policies and procedures by public school boards in Metropolitan Toronto followed the issuing of Memorandum 46 in the spring of 1977.

An indication of the success of the program as of June 1981 is that in Metropolitan Toronto alone more than 65,000 students representing 35 languages are registered in winter and summer programs. Only two public school boards in Metropolitan Toronto out of six have not responded to the need for heritage language programs in public schools. Within the Province of Ontario, at least 50 school boards have implemented heritage language programs and close to 80,000 students are enrolled in the program.

The purpose of this paper is to document the initial statement, namely that from 1977 to 1981 the incorporation of heritage language programs by public school boards in Metropolitan Toronto has been an extremely positive experience for the communities involved. The following three types of community are defined and considered in substantiating this claim, namely:

a) the individual community identified by the heritage language, e.g. Italian, Greek, Portuguese, Korean, Punjabi, German, Spanish, Chinese, Hebrew, Maltese, etc.;

b) the interacting community of multicultural language groups which in Metropolitan Toronto have organized themselves into a voluntary organization called Metro Communities for Heritage Languages. This organization began in 1977 and marked the beginning of formal communication among the multicultural language groups. Their first chairman was Mr. Alberto di Giovanni, Executive Director of Centro Scuola e Cultura Italiana;

c) the English and French language communities.

The balance of this paper is a consideration of the impact which the implementation of heritage language instruction within the public school system of Metropolitan Toronto had on these three communities. It will be suggested that many opportunities have occurred for each community which far outweigh any negative developments.

Impact upon the Individual Heritage Language Communities

The opportunities which the individual heritage language communities have experienced as a result of public school acceptance of heritage language instruction can be summarized under the following four headings:

1. **Leadership**. Each language community has had to organize itself into a more unified position in order to liaise with the six metropolitan school boards as well as to lobby on a metro, provincial and national basis to articulate their concerns. Some leaders have been eliminated by this process but those who have emerged are extremely articulate and possess effective leadership skills. In summary, both academic and political leaders within the heritage language community have developed as a result of Memorandum 46.
2. **Employment opportunities**. Employment opportunities have been created for several thousand part-time personnel in instructional curriculum development, and supervisory functions. A much smaller number of personnel have been appointed to full-time heritage language duties with the public school boards. The status and remuneration of these persons represent an important contribution to the growth of the heritage language community.
3. **Community development**. Formal recognition and legitimacy by the Ontario Government of heritage languages has resulted in further development within each language community. Increased pride and sense of self-worth by both adults and children are clearly observable at many heritage language cultural activities. Both of the above developments are contributing to an increased sense of democracy and desire for community participation by the heritage language community. There is no doubt that the number of "heritage language parents" to visit public schools in Metropolitan Toronto since Memorandum 46 has increased dramatically. The long-term benefits for everyone, as a result of this process, would appear obvious. Likewise, the heritage language family has been strengthened and unified through the legitimizing of the family's first language.
4. **Strengthening of the language skills of heritage language children**. Although no specific research in Metropolitan Toronto has been completed at the present time, there is much hope that the language skills of heritage language children in English will improve through the development of the first language of the home. Research from other parts of Canada would appear to indicate a considerable transfer of skills across languages (see paper by Cummins, this volume). Thus, heritage language instruction may represent a useful tool in the general educational problem of English language remediation which presently consumes huge amounts of the educational resources in Metropolitan Toronto.

Among the concerns that have accompanied the implementation of heritage language programs are: 1) the possible boredom and frustration of many pupils at being exposed to a longer school day over an extended period of time; and 2) the necessity to work towards better articulation between elementary and secondary heritage language programs.

Impact upon Interacting Heritage Language Communities

Advantages are also apparent in the interacting heritage language communities. At the metropolitan level, as described above, more communication, liaison and identification of common needs have occurred as a result of the ministry's permission to implement heritage language programs. Tolerance and appreciation of different cultures would appear to have improved because of this multicultural cooperation.

At the level of the local neighborhood school, the interaction of the heritage language communities has been positive. Multicultural social activities such as banquets, parents' nights, and a myriad of cultural activities have contributed to increased tolerance and understanding among multicultural communities like the Greek, Italian and West Indian language groups.

Impact upon the English-French Community

When Memorandum 46 was first issued, several negative comments from this community indicated an initial defensive and threatened feeling. It could be said that bigotry and prejudice came out of the closet at some meetings in Metropolitan Toronto. The forced adjustment to heritage language instruction at the local school level created some burdens and resentment among many school communities and teaching staffs.

Over time, with the development of acceptable procedures by local school boards and improved financing by the provincial government many of the threatened feelings of the Anglo-French community have disappeared. Several benefits of heritage language programs have begun to be appreciated, namely,

a) the increased opportunities for cultural enrichment in the curriculum;

b improvement in English language skills;

c the strengthening of the day school curriculum through the development of a related heritage language program;

d the improved communication which has been established with other communities, e.g. the increased use of translation services to facilitate communication with the multicultural community;

e the increased number of the Anglo French community who appreciate that heritage language programs have acted as a "safety value" for potential racial conflict, the promotion of positive feelings within and among the multicultural communities is felt by many to be long overdue. It is encouraging to see some boards developing curricula that include long-term goals of the heritage language programs, especially the improvement of intercultural appreciation.

Conclusions

In summary, a great deal of evidence is available to indicate that "the incorporation of heritage language education within the public school system and its effects on the community," has been a positive experience overall. Probably the single greatest benefit of the heritage language programs has been the overt encouragement to the multicultural community to move from an apathetic and critical reactionary stage of citizenship involvement to an interacting and full participation stage as a valued community member. The program is a natural development of the community school movement in Canada which is stressing a rediscovery and a new emphasis on the need for unity of purpose between the school and its immediate community.[1]

However, if this momentum is to be maintained, school boards and the three communities must face the major long term issue of the improvement of heritage language programs through more effective methods of instruction and a more appropriate curriculum.

Appendix 1

Memorandum to: Directors of Education
Principals of Schools

Re: Heritage Language Program

I am pleased to inform you that, as announced in the Throne Speech of March 29, 1977, and in the Premier's speech of May 4, the Ministry of Education will implement a Heritage Languages Program to be effective as of July 1, 1977. For the purpose of this program, a heritage language is any language other than the two official languages of Canada.

An amendment will be made to Regulation 191 to allow for the provision of heritage language classes for elementary school children by all school boards.

Under this program, any group of parents will be able to approach its local school board with the request that heritage language classes for elementary school children be given under the Continuing Education Program. Such classes may be offered after school, or on non-school days, or where numbers justify an extension of the required five-hour school day. Under this program, no student may receive more than 2 1/2 hours instruction per week, or more than 2 1/2 hours per day in the case of summer school classes.

To this end, the limitation on evening and summer school program enrolment, announced by memorandum on October 1, 1976, will be relaxed to accommodate heritage language classes.

Boards wishing to set up heritage language classes must accept full responsibility for the staff, curriculum, and supervision of the classes, and subscribe to the

1. *People of Native Ancestry: A Resource Guide for the Primary and Junior Divisions*, Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1975.

usual conditions of evening and summer school programming. Classes may be held in a facility other than a school, provided the instructors are hired by the board and responsible to them, and provided the boards accept full responsibility for the classes, as mentioned above.

The instructors hired by the boards for these classes need not have Ontario certification but should have qualifications acceptable to the boards, the principals, and the parents' groups.

To avoid duplication of services, a school board may wish to enter into an agreement with another school board to provide particular heritage language classes.

Boards operating or planning to establish heritage language classes for elementary school children, shall send to the Regional office of the Ministry of Education by September 30, 1977, a list of their heritage language classes offered and the estimated enrolment in each class. As usual, school boards must maintain a summer school/evening class register for each class (Form ME 275 (1/76)).

R.A.L. Thomas,
Assistant Deputy Minister
1977 06 15

Heritage Language Education and the Ethnocultural Communities in Quebec

I.J. de Bagheera

My paper is intended to cover mostly "le programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine" commonly called P.E.L.O. This program for the teaching of heritage languages was started in 1978 by the Ministry of Education in the province of Quebec; as such P.E.L.O. is funded by the provincial government and is part of the regular school system. Children receive 30 minutes a day of heritage language instruction under the supervision of special teachers at a time that would normally be spent on recreational or "non essential" activities. The other children in the school engage in these activities during the heritage class period. Up to now, relatively few children (officially 600) are enrolled in the P.E.L.O. However, ministry officials anticipate that it will grow as more curriculum materials are developed, more qualified teachers recruited and ways are found to improve classroom space and time availability.

A much greater number of students are in language programs operated by communities outside of the regular school day. These programs receive financial support from the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration. Some 16,000 students availed themselves of this service in 1979-80 and 19,000 in 1980-81.

Most of these programs which take place after normal school hours have given rise to very little controversy. However, the P.E.L.O. instituted by the Ministry of Education and taking place during the school day is a very different matter. Community feelings are not necessarily always favorable. We have had instances of teachers of French and teachers of mathematics suggesting to parents that they should refrain from enrolling their children in the P.E.L.O. on the grounds that they would fall behind in regular school subjects regarded as more important than the heritage language.

In order to consider the effects of heritage language programs on the community we need to break down the community into its various components. Within Quebec the community consists of both the dominant Francophone group and the second dominant Anglophone group as well as the particular ethnic groups involved in the program. For P.E.L.O. these groups are presently the Greeks, Italians and Portuguese. The Spanish program is being set up but is not yet complete. Obviously, there are other ethnic groups within the province that will feel perturbed if they are not included. These groups are part of the community and must be considered when we ask what effect the program will have on the community.

We must also consider the role of parents in heritage language teaching. This is an issue which is being extensively investigated in the United States and I feel it would also be useful for us to examine more closely in what ways we can involve parents in the teaching of heritage languages.

In the Quebec context, bill 101 must be taken into account. What effect does the enhancement of French and restriction of English have on the attitudes of regular teachers towards heritage language teaching? These teachers tend to have negative attitudes towards the teaching of heritage languages. This is not surprising to us. Several years ago we carried out a research study on students' attitudes towards second language learning and found that the students who displayed the lowest mean level of attitude were those whose parents belonged to the teaching profession. In other words, the teachers themselves fostered in their offspring negative attitudes towards second language learning in general.

We should also consider the fact that with the advent of bill 101 there is often what could be called a family gap. Parents who used to send their children to English school now in many cases send them to French school. But parents usually cannot communicate with their children in French; they cannot pass on concepts that are basic to proper learning. If we manage to implement the teaching of languages of origin we might hope to see again parents communicating with their children and helping them conceptualize some of the vital aspects of learning in the heritage language.

Another issue concerns the fact that it is not at all clear that the effects of the P.E.L.O. on the ethnic community are entirely beneficial and satisfying. Are we responding to the needs and desires of the ethnic community at large or are we just reacting to some very few but articulate people who are asking for specific things which may not represent what the majority would like to have? For example, "authenticity" is commonly regarded as one of the essential ingredients of good language teaching. However, in the case of heritage language teaching, is "authenticity" to be related to the situation lived by some family members in, for example, Greece or Portugal, or alternatively should it be related to the facts of life of this Greek or Portuguese family living in Montreal or Toronto?

These situations are completely different from one another. Should we teach for what is being done in the old country, or alternatively, for the pattern of life in Canada with the aim of establishing more communication between parents and children? We have a need for objective research in order to provide an education ally sound basis for developing the program. We must avoid developing programs which may be very sophisticated but which have no ties to the reality lived by the children.

Another point on which to focus is our children's right to an adequate education, the three R's if you will. We sometimes wonder whether development of these basic skills is not hampered by children having to learn the majority language to begin with. Mavis Burke (this volume) made reference to transfer of skills and concepts, but this can only happen if parents express themselves in their original language and teach their children these basic concepts! Alternatively, if these basic concepts and skills are learned later on in school via the heritage language program we would also then hope for a positive transfer of these skills to the majority language, whether it be French in Quebec or English elsewhere.

In this regard it is instructive to consider recent developments in the United States where people are actually aware of their right to equality of educational opportunity. There is ample legal recourse for citizens to take school districts to court in the United States if the district is not providing adequate educational opportunities for every child. Bilingual education, where children are instructed initially in their mother tongue, has become quite common as a means of helping children from ethnic minority groups to learn the majority language and perform well in school. Once again, I feel we can learn from what is being done south of the border.

In conclusion, I think we can avoid many frustrations by fostering a climate of active understanding within all Canadians for the linguistic and cultural opportunities which are rightfully theirs in a pluralistic society. Being confined to only one language limits the individual to only one perspective on reality whereas having access to many languages well mastered provides many windows on the world and potential fulfillment for us as Canadians.

Native Language Revival Program on Walpole Island

Lena White

Walpole Island is a reserve with a community of 1,900 people located in southwestern Ontario, near Windsor. The language of the community is dying, with only about 25% of the people, mainly elders, able to speak and understand it. Up to a few years ago, the only language program in the community was a core program in school for 15 minutes a day from K to grade 5. We realized that this program was getting us nowhere since most children got no exposure to the language at home. So we started to think about doing something to revive the language.

It took two years but in 1976 we finally had a program going. The first thing we did was a needs assessment survey. From the survey it was established that we needed a language centre and this now employs five people, three linguists, an artist and a secretary/treasurer. The objective was to get the community involved in the language revival program. We felt it was important to integrate the language into social events because the parents were not aware of the value of the language.

We started a monthly newsletter in the Native language which had news of the community, stories that elders had told us, recipes, etc. We also started a community calendar which was distributed to every household. Each month had stories written in the Native language with an English translation in the back of the booklet. We also brought posters in the language to social events, for example, charity choirs or events involving senior citizens, and when these were put up the people would try and read them and this type of exposure would help bring back the language. It would make people think about the language and often they would begin to talk about it and compare dialect differences.

This led to spelling workshops which were necessary because we did not have a standardized spelling system. We invited people from the community to come on a Saturday and asked them to write a number of words the way they thought they should be written. We used the English orthography because we did not have one ourselves. We collected the sheets and the 15 or so people there had all come up with different spellings of the words. That way they realized we had to establish a standardized system.

We examined different writing systems used in programs in other areas and

adopted a system that is also used in Lakehead and Wisconsin. We then put together a spelling brochure based on this system and distributed it to each household on the reserve.

We also started a student program during the summer called Language Through Recreation, funded by the Secretary of State. We tried to integrate the Native language in activities such as swimming, fishing, horseshoe tournaments, etc. We also put together a brochure to be used with arts and crafts programs so that students could learn the language while they were learning arts and crafts. This type of language learning is much more interesting for students than just learning words by themselves. We also did puppet plays at day care and day school. Booklets were also developed for community use and distributed to each household, on such things as common foods and table talk (e.g. "pass me the milk," "clear the table," etc.). We also helped develop a placemat for senior citizens with a map of Walpole Island and the language also on it. We also got involved in box socials where an elder might auction off something in the Native language. All of these projects helped increase the community's exposure to the language and helped integrate it with the culture in ways that were enjoyable for the people involved.

Gaelic Revisited: Maintaining Gaelic in Cape Breton in the '80s

John Shaw

That Scottish Gaelic has seen better days, both in Canada and in its original homeland, is the one salient fact that most commonly comes to mind when the language is mentioned. The miracle is that the spoken language has survived at all into our time, for the Scottish dialects of Gaelic, belonging to the Celtic language group once widespread in western Europe, have since the early 17th Century been subjected to every conceivable pressure by English-speaking governments. In spite of the status of Gaelic as an outlawed language during the Highland clearances, the 30,000 or so Highlanders who settled in Cape Breton Island in Eastern Nova Scotia between 1800 and 1850 were thoroughly Gaelic in their speech and way of life. Tradition has it that few were able to speak or understand English and the rare persons among the lay population who were lettered in most instances could read only Gaelic.

By all accounts, for the following four decades Gaelic culture enjoyed a robust expansion on the island with a minimal amount of outside interference; at its peak, the number of people in Cape Breton using Gaelic as a first language may well have exceeded 100,000. However, during the 1880s the fortunes of the language began to wane. The agricultural base, always the mainstay of Gaelic speaking populations, began to erode, resulting in large scale emigration of younger, more dynamic Gaels to the industrial areas of the eastern States in search of work. Those who did remain were increasingly exposed to English in the educational system as it gradually expanded into the rural areas of the province.

The attitude of educators towards Gaelic was a faithful copy of the policies in effect in the British Isles. The main rule was that Gaelic was not allowed in the schoolhouse, though everyone present, including the teacher, often as not had a far deeper knowledge of Gaelic than could be equalled by the rudimentary school English of those times. The policy was pursued to the point where people living today remember being physically punished at school for using Gaelic. The effects of this policy are still with us insofar as the Gaelic language is not equated with formal education in Cape Breton.

In the Gaelic speaking rural areas the results of the educational policy have been devastating. Although it is difficult to define the precise circumstances surrounding the loss of language loyalty in the homes, sometime around the '30s parents in Cape Breton ceased speaking Gaelic to their children, replacing it with the English that they had acquired as a second language during their school days. In some cases the shift was an abrupt one: one Gaelic story teller raised two adopted children with Gaelic which they retain to this day, while his own children, some years younger, never acquired the language. Presently there are not more than a handful of people raised in Cape Breton's Scottish communities during the '40s and the '50s who are able to converse in their parents' first language. For the last two decades the number is closer to nil. Consequently Gaelic speakers, who now number roughly 6,000 are restricted to the aging population, generally 60 years and over, and the number is rapidly falling.

The '70s witnessed some notable efforts toward language maintenance and Gaelic in Cape Breton began to acquire some of the trappings of a *cause célebre*. During the last decade the island has been the setting for four societies concerned with maintaining the language, three of which conduct their meetings in English. University courses are offered at two institutions, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, and the College of Cape Breton in the industrial area. A larger number of adult education courses, stressing conversation and reading skills, have sprung up. An ambitious Gaelic language program in the public schools, begun in 1972, has suffered from reductions in staff and geographical area, as well as restrictions on the time scheduled, which precludes effective language teaching. Radio and television have seen fit to pay some lip service to the language question – the word "Gaelic" is occasionally in evidence – yet the amount of Gaelic material aired

over the radio is minimal. Television's contribution has tended to reflect Cape Breton's cultural make-up even less, though cable television, being subject to fewer restrictions, has begun to serve as a promising electronic outlet for Gaelic culture, beginning in May 1981 with an all Gaelic broadcast of traditional tales.

It should be apparent from the brief review above that Gaelic culture, and the language in particular, have been effectively isolated from three important forces which bear directly on its survival: formal education with its prospects for social advancement, Gaeldom's own youth, and the advantages conferred by the electronic media. The situation is doubtless compounded by the tendency in both education and the media, to rely on costly and not always relevant cultural imports from the British Isles, instead of making use of the extensive resources contained in the more familiar and still vigorous Cape Breton variety of Gaelic culture.

If the areas of education, youth, electronic media and local cultural resources are the areas where the fate of the language will be decided, a constructive and lasting effort toward language maintenance will have to aim at combining the internal strengths of Gaelic culture with the modern resources which are part of present-day mass culture. In the area of education, leaving politics aside for the moment, this task is not as complex as it might first appear. Cape Breton Gaels have maintained an extensive oral tradition appealing to all ages. A large collection of this material, begun in 1977 with the sponsorship of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia and funded by the Department of the Secretary of State, leaves no doubt that there is ample high-quality educational material available for all levels of learning. Such traditional materials could both be taught orally and incorporated into educational aids for reading. The linguistic schism in the homes between the older Gaelic speakers and the youth could be healed by means of preschool play-groups conducted in Gaelic, which would eliminate the drudgery of language acquisition for children in primary school. If a continuous program of instruction for Gaelic from preschool through university and teacher training were developed in Cape Breton, using local materials and modern methods, there is reason to believe that provincial authorities would be more receptive to proposals for the expansion of Gaelic programs in the schools. The success over the last 30 years of Welsh language schools in English-speaking sections of Wales shows that instruction through Gaelic in the schools is both a viable and an important means of promoting the language and bringing it closer to formal education. Within Canada, the successful English-Ukrainian bilingual programs in areas of Manitoba and Alberta have provided a most encouraging and instructive example which should be followed in Cape Breton.

One may well ask pragmatically by what means such an expansion of programs could be achieved, particularly with respect to funding. One answer which has met with success in other parts of Canada lies in approaching Gaels who are prominent in business and in the provincial government. On a more grass-roots level, an approach recently tried in the Scottish Highlands consisted of circulating a questionnaire to parents in various school districts, where the response was overwhelmingly in favor of a Gaelic program.

Local radio and television, with their less than exemplary record regarding Gaelic, may have to be enlightened – preferably as publically as possible – concerning their cultural responsibilities to the locality that they serve. One major asset possessed by Gaelic is the high entertainment value of its songs, stories and music, which are enjoyed by Gaelic and English speakers alike. Another strong source of encouragement could be found in a large number of younger Gaelic speakers coming out of expanded school programs. Here also, there are excellent local resources available; the electronic media could contribute much toward restoring Gaelic to its former position as a primary source of entertainment in the island. Recent developments in Scotland could also be drawn on, including new broadcasts in Gaelic, language lessons and even talk shows.

The necessity of using Gaelic in activities connected with the culture extends far beyond the educational system, for the greatest resource possessed by the language is its speakers. A conspicuous policy of functioning at least internally by means of the language would lend the already existing Gaelic language societies a much needed stamp of legitimacy, inevitably drawing firmer and more extensive commitments from the communities that they represent.

Although a knowledge of Gaelic has been traditionally condemned in the schools as an intellectual and cultural liability, recent studies on bilingualism show the opposite view to be closer to the truth. In the case of Gaelic, the advantages of a bilingual, bicultural background may prove to be particularly pronounced, for the type of learning in Gaelic tradition produces highly evolved oral memory skills which complement the largely literary skills of our standard, more widespread cultures.

The distinctiveness of Scottish Cape Breton's way of life is closely bound to the language; one need only compare former Gaelic-speaking areas of the nearby mainland to realize the extent to which this is so. If the option of maintaining a regional way of life is a desirable one – as I believe it is – there is still time for the Gaels of Cape Breton to act on the knowledge that other Scottish-Canadian communities have acquired at great expense: that annual formal ceremonial

occasions, sporadic television specials and imported festive trappings are no substitute for a living culture.

Purposes and Methods of Preserving Endangered Species of Languages

David W. White

First of all, let me address some of the purposes for preservation of languages. The case that I would like to use for an example is the case of Native North American languages; specifically, allow me to refer to that of the Potawatomi language at the Walpole Island reserve, and I relate to that particular language because I myself am of Potawatomi descent and I live on Walpole Island.

Let me give you some background on the Potawatomi. In the '40s there was a census which identified about 160 people as being Potawatomi Indians. I do not know how this number was arrived at but I know at that time there were a considerably greater number of Potawatomi than recorded in that particular census. Most of them could speak Potawatomi. I am also aware that many of the people of Walpole Island could speak Potawatomi, Odawa or Chippewa and English whether they were of Chippewa, Odawa or Potawatomi descent. The total population of Walpole Island was about 900 Indians: Chippewa, Odawa and Potawatomi. Incidentally, one of the traits of the Potawatomi is that we are supposed to be particularly stubborn. However, in spite of a stubborn streak, we have lost our language for most practical purposes as there is only one fluent speaker left and he is over 90 years of age. Ironically he identifies himself as being Odawa.

Now, what would be the purpose of preserving the Potawatomi language in a community which has allowed the language to decline to the point of extinction? Part of the purpose would be historical for the Potawatomi were once a strong, vital and influential nation in the southern central Great Lakes area. To fully understand the part they played in historical developments, we should have the Potawatomi point of view expressed in the Potawatomi language.

Today there are still communities in Wisconsin, Kansas and southern Michigan that retain much of the language and culture that has been lost on Walpole Island. We who identify ourselves as Potawatomi on Walpole Island and want to be Potawatomi, must be able to speak Potawatomi, know our culture and history as we interpret it, and practice all those things that make a culture and an identity, not only on Walpole Island but everywhere there are Potawatomi people.

I have been fortunate in that I have become acquainted with some of the Potawatomi of Wisconsin, Kansas, Chicago and Michigan. I do not know exactly what condition their language is in but I do know that, through my visits to those places, their culture and language are much more viable and identifiable as Potawatomi than the culture is on Walpole Island. All of the leaders know the language, as all of the ritual that I observed was conducted in the language. When the language becomes extinct on Walpole Island which appears certain at this point, we will lose the ability to communicate fully with these Potawatomi communities.

English will become the only method of communication. However, English does not have the expressive power of the Potawatomi language simply because it does not have some of the complexities that Potawatomi does. It is a similar situation when we compare English to the other Algonkian languages as well as the Iroquoian and Siouan language families.

As a result, we will lose the ability to comprehend fully some of the concepts of our philosophy, history and worldview generally, that we should possess as Potawatomi people. Also, if we are to relate to the environment and other forces in the universe as Potawatomi people, we must do so in the Potawatomi language.

Apart from the reasons of national integrity and personal identity, another reason for the preservation of Potawatomi or other Algonkian or similarly complex language concerns children's intellectual development. This particular reason is more theoretical or perhaps more hypothetical at this point simply because there has not been enough research done in this area. One paper that I am aware of by Cecil King, whom I know personally, has to do with cognitive development in children who are Algonkian speakers. The results of his master's thesis suggested that children who are Algonkian speakers perform differently on Piagetian tests than children who speak a Romance language.

With regard to the methods of preserving endangered species of languages, one of the most comprehensive pieces of work that I have seen is "A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention" by James J. Bauman.[1] However, we in Canada can draw on the example of the Walpole Island Language Centre that, together with a number of agencies and programs, has attempted to preserve Native languages.

In the summer of 1976 on Walpole Island, we had a student program funded by the Secretary of State and part of the program was to put out a newsletter and a questionnaire. Through the questionnaire, it was determined that 92.7% of the people wanted the Ojibwe (Chippewa) language revived. The questionnaire also assessed the state of the language at that

1 James J. Bauman, *A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980).

time; documented the intent of our community as to language revival and assessed the degree of interest. One of the most significant findings of the questionnaire survey was that only about 25% of the population speak and use the language.

Through this type of documentation, we developed another program entitled "Anishnaabemdaa Meenwaa" "Let's Speak Indian Again". It was funded by a Local Initiatives Program grant in the amount of $20,000. The project looked into the adoption of an orthography for the Chippewa dialect spoken at Walpole Island. This was done through researching existing orthographies and holding a couple of spelling systems workshops on the reserve. The community input was not limited to workshops alone. The staff, language experts, volunteers all participated in box socials, craft shows, bake sales and many other community events. In these social events they used such things as placemats, posters, mobiles, cards and name tags written in the language to encourage the use of Indian. For a period of time, a community language course was also offered at the day school to complement the existing language program at the school.

One of the most important activities of the language centre was the production of booklets on specific areas of activity and interest. For example, one booklet was produced on the topic of some of the more common foods while the next booklet was concerned with activities associated with meal time such as setting the table, eating and washing the dishes. Another booklet was involved with the production of a black ash splint basket. These booklets formed the basis for developing curriculum in community classes.

The monthly newsletter provided the most direct and on-going communication with the community. It featured in each issue such things as a favorite recipe, stories, as well as community news.

While the language centre was operating, people often just dropped in to talk about the language and the program in general. In addition to these informal visits, the language centre hosted two meetings on language issues so that people in other programs could come and exchange ideas and discuss both shared problems and those that were specific to their communities.

The language centre program also discovered some significant information about the Chippewa language at Walpole Island. Most surprising was that three dialects spoken on Walpole Island are associated with certain sections and families of the reserve. Other things that we found out were that certain stories related at Walpole Island are similar to those related at such distant places at Mille Lacs, Minnesota; Mayetta, Kansas, and Wikwemikong, Ontario; and that the language itself has changed dramatically from what it was in the 1850s.

All of this information is important to consider in the development of school and community language programs. If such programs are ever implemented, a considerable amount of work with the community will be required in order not to leave out some of the essential aspects of the culture and language.

The difficulties of preserving endangered species of Native languages are compounded on reservations because of certain problems that are historically and socially related to the present situation. The historical problem concerns the experience that Native people have had in dealing with both missionaries and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs whose policies in the past were just short of being genocidal.

For example, national groups such as the Potawatomi were divided on reserves and isolated from one another. The religions of all Native groups in Canada were made illegal and were suppressed, as was anything in the culture that looked or sounded Indian. In the school systems, the pupils were isolated from family and friends and physically punished if they so much as spoke their Native languages. The pupils were brainwashed and then indoctrinated with whatever doctrines the missionaries and teachers thought would extinguish anything Indian about their pupils.

Government policies created "haves" and "have nots" on small reserves to divide and conquer any opposition. The political factions and cliques that resulted from these departmental policies and programs remain today in the form of terrible rifts in communities that make any unity or progress on the reserves a particularly difficult and often futile exercise. This factionalism comes into play constantly whether the goal be to preserve an endangered species of language or to implement a program of economic development.

Cooperative Roles of the Home and School in Maintaining Ancestral Languages and Resolving Cultural Conflicts

Maggie Ip

It is my belief that the most important factor in a successfully developed heritage language education is the involvement of parents.

Parental involvement has certainly been very effective in the French immersion movement across Canada. A national organization called Canadian Parents for French has played and continues to play a very active and successful role in effecting changes, lobbying and enlightening the provincial governments and school boards to initiate and implement French immersion programs.

In British Columbia, where a third of the members of Canadian Parents for French live, many school districts have reported large increases in registration for the existing immersion schools and this year, 1980-81, there is a more than 30% increase in enrollment in the kindergartens throughout the Greater Vancouver area. The school which my children attend has about 40% of its enrollment in the French Immersion Program from kindergarten to grade 7. In the past four years, I have observed that about 90% of the parents who care enough to attend the parents advisory meetings are those who have children in the French Immersion Program.

A similar degree of enthusiastic support for heritage language education can be expected from the ethnic population. The fact that more and more local ethnic language schools are now initiated and administered by the parents themselves is a conspicuous manifestation of this phenomenon. The report on non-official languages published in 1976 by the federal government[1] showed that parents of ethnic groups often saw themselves as having the primary responsibility for the transmission of the heritage language and culture to their children (43%). However, a substantial proportion (49.6%) felt that there ought to be support for heritage languages within the public school system. It was also found that more parents favored the public school as the preferred institution for teaching heritage languages than favored the traditional ethnic schools. (30.7% favored primary schools, 26.1% favored secondary, and only 11.2% favored the ethnic schools).

In this survey, parents of many ethnic groups gave our public school system the mandate to include heritage languages in the regular school curriculum. Furthermore, many said that they would insist on their children taking classes in their respective heritage languages and almost all indicated that they would at least encourage them to do so. It is quite evident that ethnic parents are committed to this cause and will give full support to the public school system in helping children maintain their heritage languages.

One of the lessons we have learned from the French immersion movement is the paramount importance of parents' commitment and involvement. This may include the initial lobbying of policy makers at the federal and provincial levels of government, working with school boards in the acceptance and implementation of the program, providing support and input to the school administrators and teachers as well as organizing and encouraging parents' associations at the local and national level.

As parents we must be generous with our time, interest and commitment and we must become involved in the affairs of the school in which our children will spend the formative years of their lives. During these years, they will expand in character and maturity to learn and to respect, to give and to take, to share and to experience, and most important of all, to develop their full intellectual potential. The school needs our support in this endeavor.

Growing is also a part of cultural development as well as intellectual development. Social scientists regard culture as consisting of learned ways of acting, feeling and thinking. The heritage cultures which were brought and retained by our ethnic minorities should be living, changing, modifying, adding and flourishing, thereby contributing to the Canadian cultural mosaic. At the same time the educational and developmental advantages provided by the retention of the heritage language and culture should not be overlooked by our educators and politicians. Several recent Canadian studies have provided strong evidence of these advantages (see Cummins, this volume). They include the enhancement of the child's academic and intellectual development, easier adjustment to the home culture, and better quality of parent-child interaction in the home, especially in the case of immigrant families. The school, therefore, should share responsibility for preparing our children for *full* citizenship, involving both security in one's own self identity and respect for differences in others.

Canadian school should help strengthen all students' self respect by making them aware of the history, literature and traditions of their individual cultures and the outstanding contributions of these cultures to the development of Canada. *Canadian* school should also teach students the language which will help them maintain communication with their parents and participate meaningfully in their ethnic communities. A successful heritage language program can be implemented only when willingness and cooperation are shown by both parents and teachers. This conference, diverse in participation but united in belief, has demonstrated the strength of the conviction to the maintenance of cultural languages.

1 K.G. O'Bryan, J.G. Reitz, and O.M. Kuplowska, *Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976).

The Society:

Effecting Change for All Canadians

In order to bring about changes in societal policies with regard to language education, it is necessary to have, first, a clear vision of what changes are desired, and second, short term and long-term strategies for achieving the desired objectives at various institutional levels, e.g. federal, provincial and local. Many participants at this conference reiterated their conviction that if heritage language education remained an exclusively "ethnic" concern perceived by the Anglo-Celtic and French communities to be, at best, of marginal relevance, then its long term prospects were poor indeed. Because ambiguities in the present federal multicultural policy in regard to "non official languages" were perceived as an impediment towards institutionalizing changes at provincial and local levels and a major recommendation was that the federal government clarify its policy in regard to fostering of Canada's national language resources. This would involve recognition of the benefits of these resources for Canadian society as a whole. This perspective was stated forcefully in Book IV of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission:

> *The presence in Canada of many people whose language and culture are distinctive by reason of their birth or ancestry represents an inestimable enrichment that Canadians can not afford to lose. The dominant cultures can only profit from the influence of these other cultures. Linguistic variety is unquestionably an advantage and its beneficial effects on the country are priceless.*[1]

The failure in many parts of the country to translate this sentiment into effective heritage language programs can be largely attributed to the dominant groups tending to view linguistic diversity not as an "inestimable enrichment" but as a threat to social cohesion. Cries of "balkanization" and "fragmentation" have greeted attempts to incorporate the teaching of heritage languages into the regular school day, especially in Ontario. In order to overcome these fears, which advocates of heritage language education view as irrational and groundless, the benefits of heritage language promotion for *all* Canadians must be thought out clearly and communicated forcefully to trustees, government officials and the general public.

The four papers in this section lay the groundwork for this type of endeavor. Alok Mukherjee analyses the framework for heritage language education provided by the 1971 policy of "multiculturalism with a bilingual framework." He reviews evidence which suggests that support among the dominant groups for educational pluralism is marginal and that minority groups have had only minimal influence on national institutions. The present format for heritage language programs in Ontario, he suggests, is designed to simultaneously ease the fears of the dominant groups while meeting the expectations of the minority communities; however, these expectations are unlikely to be met because the present program fails to acknowledge the academic legitimacy of heritage language education.

Peter L. McCreath and Angelo di Ianni analyse the practical realities of dealing with government agencies and school boards in promoting heritage language education in Nova Scotia and Ontario respectively. McCreath suggests that in Nova Scotia with its relatively small and dispersed population of heritage language speakers, heritage language programs might best be provided outside the public school system. Di Ianni argues that in approaching school trustees, communities must be organized, reliable, professional and persistent. They must be sensitive to the need for public relations work and must organize the evidence for their demands in such a way that it can be rationally discussed.

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1 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *Book IV, The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*, (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1976), p. 14.

Finally, Jamshed Mavalwala presents an image of the kind of Canadian society towards which heritage language educators should be striving. He argues strongly that heritage language education is not an end in itself but is rather a means whereby *all* Canadians can develop access to the world views inherent in our national languages. This process of "language education" should permeate the entire curriculum, not just the social sciences.

The message which emerges from these papers is that although the 1971 multiculturalism policy may have loosened the logjam of Anglo-conformity in Canadian society and schools, the confluence of different cultural groups towards a unified goal has progressed only slowly. There is still considerable confusion over what exactly constitutes the goal and how to achieve it, as well as reluctance on the part of some members of both majority and minority groups to abandon ethnocentric attitudes and acknowledge the fundamental equality of all Canadian cultures. As Jamshed Mavalwala points out, a logical implication of the recognition of cultural equality is that those confined to only one cultural and linguistic world view are impoverished. This societal perspective is complemented by the research evidence suggesting intellectual and academic enrichment for students who develop access to two or more languages. For too long we have regarded these languages and cultures as "foreign," but we now have the opportunity to learn from each other how to appreciate our own heritage. To be truly effective, the practical strategies for exerting political pressure on school boards and government agencies must always be joined with a clear vision of the ultimate goals of heritage language education within Canadian society.

Cooperative Roles of the Home and School in Maintaining Ancestral Languages and Resolving Cultural Conflicts

Alok K. Mukherjee

Historically, schooling in Canada, especially outside Quebec, has been unilingual, reflecting the Anglophone dominance of the country's public institutions. Only in the last 10 years have the federal government, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta introduced programs to assist non-English, non-French communities in maintaining their ancestral or heritage languages. Prior to 1971, teaching of these languages was undertaken as a private endeavor by the groups themslves. Alberta now offers bilingual programs in German, Hebrew and Ukrainian, and Ukrainian programs have also been introduced in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Under these programs 50% of the instruction is imparted in the ancestral language, the remainder being in English. In Quebec and Ontario heritage languages are taught for about two and a half hours per week when requested by community groups. In most provinces instruction in these languages is not integrated in the regular school curriculum and participation in the program is optional.

The availability of these programs depends on the cooperation of home and school. In Ontario, for example, where the Ministry of Education provides 100% of the funding to boards of education for offering heritage languages programs, it is up to parents to find the minimum number of students required to start a program. Parents are also expected to be involved in the curriculum and staffing aspects of the programs. Admirable though this cooperative model may be, its success depends on numerous factors, such as the willingness of the boards to offer programs, availability of the requisite number of students, quality instruction materials and competent teachers, and, indeed, the perceived worth of a voluntary program on the part of home as well as school. We may note, for instance, the dubious sociopolitical and psychoeducational objections that many educators have used to oppose the teaching of heritage languages.[1]

In the light of these constraints, to what extent are voluntary programs capable of assisting minority ethnic groups to retain their ancestral languages? What role, however, can these programs play in resolving cultural conflicts? This paper examines the sociopolitical framework within which, I believe, these questions should be discussed.

1 Jim Cummins, "Ancestral-Language Maintenance: The Roles of School and Home," *Multiculturalism*, 4, 2 (1980), 23-27.

The historical roots of bilingualism in education are to be found in the "policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" enunciated by Prime Minister Trudeau in October 1971 following the submission of Book IV of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB):[2]

> *. . . although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other . . . A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies.*[3]

Like the other initiatives deriving from the multiculturalism policy, the teaching of the languages of non-English, non-French groups has developed in the framework of an Anglo-French Canada. Heritage language programs reflect an attempt to balance the desire of the minority ethnic groups to retain their cultural identity against the fear on the part of the "Charter Groups" of consequent social disruption.

Studies of dominant group attitudes toward minorities – e.g. RCBB, Hawkins, Palmer and Burnet[4] – suggest that a majority of Canadians now prefer cultural pluralism to assimilationism and believe that different groups should be free to retain their culture. Although the statistical investigation of Berry et al[5] appears to support this analysis, it indicates that support for pluralism is only "slight":

> *. . . there was evidence of greater acceptance for some programs (e.g. "community centres" and "folk festivals") than for others (e.g. "radio and television shows in languages other than English or French and teaching, in regular school programs, of the languages of the cultural groups who have settled in Canada"); indeed, respondents showed slight rejection of the last two programs.*

A recent public opinion survey, undertaken by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, shows that only a small minority of Anglo- and Franco-Ontarians, 14% and 17% respectively, support "more emphasis on multiculturalism" as opposed to 47% and 39% respectively in favor of "more emphasis on common culture" in the curriculum.[6]

One might, then, question whether Canadians from the dominant groups have really accepted the idea of a pluralist society. Also, given the nature of Canada's public institutions, it is scarcely possible to envisage a truly pluralist society developing here. Political, legal, economic, cultural, social, no less than educational, institutions are dominated by a single group. There may not be an "official culture," there certainly is a dominant one, as expressed through the media, arts and literature. To be sure, some minority groups have made some inroads here and there, by and large, however, they occupy a fairly low place in the "vertical mosaic." Their impact on national institutions is marginal.

It is this sense of marginality that makes the need to retain one's own culture so powerful. And, although it is debatable whether language retention is necessary for culture retention, there is no doubt that – as the struggles of oppressed groups elsewhere in the world indicate – language is the most concrete and living symbol of one's self-identity. Thus, as O'Bryan et al. have reported,

> a) Support for retention of the non-official languages is very widespread among Canada's metropolitan ethnic groups . . . In the sampled cities and groups alone, nearly a million persons – almost one twentieth of Canada's entire population – support the concept of non-official language retention . . . Overall, 70% of the respondents support language retention.
>
> b) Overall, language loss was mentioned most often as the most serious problem facing the ethnic group, by comparison with problems such as job discrimination or educational opportunities.[7]

O'Bryan et al. also found "very strong and clear support among many members of Canada's ethnic minority groups for inclusion of the non-official languages in the courses of instruction and as vehicles of instruction in the public schools . . ."[8].

Thus, although heritage languages programs in their present format may ease the fears of the dominant groups, they do not meet the expectations of the minority

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2. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV of the Final Report, *The Cultural Contributions of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969).
3. Statement to the House of Commons, October 8, 1971.
4. F. Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University press, 1972); H. Palmer, "Mosaic vs. Melting Pot: Reality or Illusion," paper presented to the Canadian Association for American Studies, Toronto, October 1972, and "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," paper presented to the Second Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, Ottawa, February 1976; J. Burnet, "Ethnic Relations and Ethnic Policies in Canadian Society," paper presented to the Ninth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago, August-September 1973.
5. John W. Berry et al. *Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1977).
6. D.W. Livingstone and D.J. Hart, *Public Attitudes Toward Education in Ontario 1980: Third OISE Survey* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1981).
7. K.G. O'Bryan et al., *Non-Official Languages: A Study in Canadian Multiculturalism* (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976), p. 170.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

ethnic communities. Their cooperative model, moreover, is not only detrimental to the development of academically worthwhile and meaningful programs, it also prevents communities that are unorganized or dispersed over a wide geographic area from having access to the programs. Their optional nature detracts from their academic significance and permits opponents of cultural pluralism (e.g. in school boards) to block the introduction of new programs.

The role of ancestral languages in resolving cultural conflicts is open to question in the best of circumstances, but the present situation makes it even more so. For cultural conflicts have their source elsewhere, in the overall inequality among groups. Helping minority groups to retain their cultural heritage may ease the burden of the conflict somewhat, just as anti-discriminatory laws have lessened the burden somewhat in the economic sphere, but the conflict itself will remain until we move beyond the framework proposed in 1971.

It is in this wider context that a realistic appraisal needs to be made of the cooperative roles of the home and school in maintaining ancestral languages, and the value of doing so.

Dealing with Government Agencies and School Boards in Promoting Heritage Language Education

Peter L. McCreath

It is easy to assume that heritage language education is absent from the public school curriculum in largely Anglo-Celtic provinces like Nova Scotia for essentially three reasons:

1. The population of any one ethnic minority group within a community could not compromise a numerically viable heritage language class;
2. The leaders of minority ethnic communities are unfamiliar with the bureaucracy and processes of schools, school boards, and ministries of education; and
3. The societal majority, who dominate those bureaucracies, oppose heritage language education and similar pursuits as being divisive or somehow anti-Canadian.

Are these assumptions valid? Let us reflect upon them in the light of five questions.

1. Who makes curriculum decisions and how are they made?

   Although the delivery of public education in Canada is, at least on the surface, a matter of provincial jurisdiction, the federal government exerts no small influence through the transfer of funds to the provinces with ear-marked intent, either directly to government, as in funds for post-secondary education, or indirectly through private organizations, such as is done through programs such as the Cultural Enrichment Program, operated by the Department of the Secretary of State.

   But in the final analysis, it is the provincial governments and the local school boards who make the most basic decisions regarding curriculum, i.e. what is to be taught in the public schools. While the detail of curriculum decision making may vary from province to province in Canada, the basics are fundamentally the same. The general goals and program of studies are established by the provincial Ministry or Department of Education under authority of the minister, but the schools are run by local school boards. As an elected public official, the minister is naturally quite responsive to expressed public opinion. The departmental officials, however, who do the major leg work in preparing and designing the course descriptions, tend more to follow their own professional opinions and those of professional educators actively engaged in teaching in the public schools. In an overwhelming Anglo-Celtic province like Nova Scotia, there is not surprisingly little demand from the public at large for the public schools to be providing instruction in such languages as Greek, Chinese or Arabic. Consequently, it is not surprising to discover that these languages are not taught in the public schools in Nova Scotia. However, while the province does establish criteria for the awarding of a High School Leaving Certificate, such diplomas are actually awarded by local education authorities. Thus, in the final analysis, it is the local school board which actually determines the specific courses which will be taught in the school. Where a particular need is discerned either by teachers or through public pressure on the local school board for a major change in the course of studies in a given school, the board may apply for approval of what is called a locally initiated pilot program. This means that if, for example, there is sufficient demand in a community for Arabic to be taught in the local school, procedures exist whereby a program of Arabic could be established and approved for credit purposes in the local school (Appendix 1). In other words, there is no legal or bureaucratic reason that heritage language education should not be possible in the public schools of Nova Scotia. However, other factors may preclude the possibility of implementing such language training.

2. Under what circumstances will governments and school boards be interested in providing heritage language education?

   The public school is like a department store. It presents a variety of offerings for its clientele (the students) and modifies its stock (courses) in accordance with the demands of consumers.

In other words, the school has a basic program which it offers, usually in relative conformity to that outlined in the provincial program of studies. Other courses are added or deleted from time to time as demand warrants and as the resources and personnel of the school permit. In Nova Scotia, for example, although there are over 60 identified ethnic groups, the members of the various groups are generally not concentrated in sufficiently large numbers in specific communities to make class units of the children of these ethnic groups viable. For example, the 1976 precensus report showed some 300 Nova Scotians of Hungarian extraction, over 600 Ukrainians, over 800 Greeks; and over 1,000 Chinese. However, it would be uncommon to find any one classroom in the province with more than three or four children of Hungarian, Ukrainian, Greek or Chinese ethnic origin. Thus, on the surface, the demand for heritage language education is small and the numbers available in any one community or region would seem to make the provision of such instruction unrealistic owing to numbers.

Related to this problem of numbers are the problems of cost and transportation. For example, in the Halifax-Dartmouth area (population approximately 280,000), the number of children of one of these minority ethnic groups might be sufficient to make a heritage language class viable. But local school authorities shudder at the cost of providing transportation on a regular basis, not to mention the timetabling problems inherent in such a proposition—assuming that a suitably qualified instructor could be found. The result is that local school boards are less than aggressive in pursuing the possibilities for heritage language education. However, more often than not, they never have to face such decisions. All too often minority ethnocultural associations simply do not bother to approach the local school board or the local school because they assume that they would be turned down if they requested heritage language education for their children within the public schools.

3. It is reasonable to assume that bureaucracies begin with a bias against heritage language education programs.

The answer to this question, to no small extent, of course, is a matter of perspective. Some will argue, for example, that bureaucracies controlled by members of a majority cultural group, whether knowingly or unknowingly, discriminate against the aspirations of the minority. This is so, naturally, because any public education system is going to reflect foremost the values of the predominant culture of the society. There is often also a certain skepticism as to the value of minority cultural education, be it heritage language or otherwise.

In Nova Scotia, as has been pointed out above, the procedures exist whereby heritage language education could (at least hypothetically) be conducted through the public school system. However, as has also been pointed out, numbers make it unlikely that such programs are going to be in sufficient demand in any particular school or community so as to bring about heritage language education. As an alternative, what has occurred in Nova Scotia is that individual ethnocultural organizations or churches undertake to provide heritage language instruction for their children.

Once in place there is no reason why the Department of Education and local school boards should not be approached to evaluate such programs and offer credit for their completion. For example, under the auspices of the Greek Orthodox Church in Halifax, children of the parish attend five hours of instruction per week throughout the school year for six years. At the conclusion of the program, it has been shown, the overwhelming majority of the students have writing and oral facility in the Greek language and considerable knowledge of the history, geography and culture of their ancestral homeland. Should such programs not be recognized for credit purposes? Indeed, within the recent past, this particular program was evaluated by suitably qualified academics from one of the local universities and found to be of sufficient academic quality to warrant acceptance of graduates into the second year of the undergraduate Arts program. However, to date, the provincial Department of Education has not been approached, nor has the Halifax School Board, to recognize this program for credit purposes.

If there is an inherent bias on the part of the system against such programs as that of the Greek Orthodox Church in Halifax, I suspect it resides in that consultants of the Curriculum Branch of the Department of Education or the local school board simply do not have the expertise to evaluate a curriculum in Greek. Nor can they properly assess textbooks written in an alphabet, let alone a language, with with they are unfamiliar. Of course, this is not to say that independent assessment or evaluation of the program could not be undertaken on behalf of the department by suitably qualified and commissioned individuals. However, until such a time as pressure is brought to bear on the department to do so, it is naturally unlikely that such will occur.

It is interesting to note that in Nova Scotia where a third of the population traces its ethnic origin to the land of the heather, a three-year senior secondary program in the Gaelic language does appear in the provincial program of studies. However, at the present time, this program is offered in only one school in the province with a

second hoping to begin the program in September 1981.

Another possible means by which heritage language education could be provided – and indeed there is no reason why this could not be done with the support, financial and otherwise, of government – is the one-to-one approach used by the Halifax Chinese Culture Centre. Originally the centre hoped to establish classes for the children of immigrant Chinese families; however, the problems of numbers and transportation after school made this impractical. Instead, what they have established is a system whereby volunteer teachers conduct private lessons on a one-to-one basis with the children of interested parents. The program is carried out on a purely voluntary basis and, of course, no credit is provided. However, a small number of children are learning to speak Chinese in this way.

4. Is it reasonable to assume that people from minority ethnic groups are familiar with the procedures for gaining support and money from government and school boards?

   A brief survey of ethnic associations in Nova Scotia would seem to indicate that very few minority ethnic groups even bother to solicit official support and recognition. This is primarily because such groups assume their numbers would not warrant the establishment of classes or they assume an inherent bias on the part of the bureaucracy against their language and culture. Certainly it is clear that some ethnic leaders do not feel comfortable in approaching local school authorities. However, in my survey, I discovered, for example, that the program offered by the Italo-Canadian Cultural Association of Halifax/Dartmouth to approximately 100 Haligonians, young and old, is delivered by three qualified teachers who happen to be natives of Italy. There are some 300 Italo-Canadian families in the Metropolitan Halifax area; some 60 of these live in one suburban area called Fairview – indeed it is in the junior high school in this area that the four classes of Italian are offered during evening classes – though not as part of the Continuing Education Program of the City of Halifax. It is interesting to note that the Halifax School Board provides the space for these classes without charge but has never been approached by the Italo-Canadian Cultural Association with a view to having Italian offered within the regular school program in this part of the city.

   Certainly the arduous process through which text materials and resources are made available to schools through the provincial school book bureau could be enough to deter minority ethnic associations from seeking support in this way. Ethnic associations offering heritage language education in Nova Scotia seem to have acquired their materials from one of two sources: a) from ethnic associations in Toronto or Vancouver which have produced materials intended for use in training North American children in heritage languages; or b) materials imported directly from the ancestral homeland. It is interesting to note, for example, that the program offered by the Greek Orthodox Church is carried out with books produced by the archdioceses of America for teaching Greek children in North America. At the same time, a counsellor appointed by the Ministry of Education in Greece is available to supervise the program offered by the church itself. The instruction provided in Italian in Halifax, on the other hand, is carried out with actual textbooks from Italy provided free of charge by the Italian Consulate in Montreal.

   In all cases, the ethnic associations in Nova Scotia avail themselves of funds available through the Cultural Enrichment Program. While all the organizations contacted indicated that these grants are of considerable assistance, it was readily apparent that in all cases the program was established and indeed would be carried on with or without such welcome financial assistance.

5. Is it reasonable to assume that members of minority ethnic groups want the public school involved in teaching heritage and heritage language to their children?

   The determination of some cultural minority groups to provide heritage language education to their children is readily apparent. However, this is not to say that these Nova Scotians necessarily wish to have this education provided through the public school system. In all cases, there would seem to be two major objectives underlying the provision of heritage language education:

   1. The wish that children acquire and/or retain knowledge of and facility in the ancestral language and culture – and be accordingly richer for it; and
   2. The wish or attempt, particularly in the case of the children of immigrants, to bridge the gulf between those children and their parents. All too often, it seems, a gulf develops when the children become a part of the Canadian or North American culture while the parents still retain the values and language of the ancestral homeland.

Some minority ethnic leaders seem to view the transmission of heritage language and culture as a near sacred privilege and obligation – one that can be viewed in the same light as the obligation of parents to pass on religion and values to their children. Such ethnic leaders, not surprisingly, prefer to see such heritage education provided from within the ethnic community itself – particularly where the

ethnic community comprises a distinct religious group. In such circumstances, fear and even mistrust of the majority group and of the influence it might have on how heritage language education is carried out make it inconceivable that it could be offered through the regular public school curriculum.

Conclusion

As a simplistic rule, it could be stated that the public school system responds to the demands and perceived needs of the community as a whole. There is no reason that heritage language education could not be provided through the public school system even in a province such as Nova Scotia, with a predominant majority ethnocultural group. However, it should not be assumed that the public schools are the best delivery system given that such programs respond to the perceived needs of only a small minority of the community as a whole. While there is a certain obligation on the public school system to make its processes available and accessible to all members of the community, it must at the same time respect the fundamental right of parents with a democratic society to be the predominant influence in determining how their children will be educated. There will always remain a need for a balance to be struck between the educational needs of society and the educational wishes of particular groups of parents.

Responsible leaders of minority ethnic groups will make it a point to familiarize themselves with options and resources available to them through the public school system. However, it may well be in many cases that heritage language education can be best provided outside of the regular public school program.

Appendix 1: Pilot Programs in Nova Scotia

The following procedure for obtaining approval for locally initiated pilot programs is outlined in the *Public Schools Programs* document of the Nova Scotia Department of Education.

> *A pilot program must be approved by the principal and the head of the system, both of whom may require revision and resubmission of the program. It is then submitted to the Divisional Inspector of Schools, who may recommend it for consideration of the Department of Education, or resubmit it for further revision. If the pilot request is approved by the Department of Education, the Inspector and the head of the school system are notified and steps are taken for its implementation.*
>
> *Approved pilots will be monitored and evaluated over a two year period. A pilot designation will not extend beyond two years and may be terminated at any time. At the end of two years, a recommendation will be made to have:*
>
> *a) the pilot become part of the regular provincial program, or*
>
> *b) the program approved for offering in specified schools for a maximum of three further years, or*
>
> *c) the program terminated.*

Furthermore, up to 3% of the school textbook credit allocation may be used for purchasing materials necessary to offer such pilot programs.

Dealing with Government Agencies and School Boards in Promoting Heritage Language Education

Angelo di Ianni

When I was first approached to speak on this topic, I thought what I would do is teach you how to make placards (e.g. "We Want Heritage Language Programs") and how to picket schools and make threatening phone calls to trustees and elected representatives, because sometimes, unfortunately, this approach is necessary. I never cease to be amazed at the power that electors can wield over elected representatives, when this aggressive approach is implemented in a well organized way.

The basic thing that ethnocultural groups must understand is that no person is too high to speak to. We must not shy away from talking to people such as the Secretary of State, Prime Minister, Minister of Education in a province, trustees, etc. We must make appointments and organize a proper representative delegation to speak to them about our concerns. They are the people who are responsible to us. Bureaucrats in between have all sorts of ways of sidetracking us if they don't believe that our request is department policy.

With regards to Ontario, the person to contact initially is the school board trustee. He or she is the person who is going to make policy at the board level. In approaching trustees ethnocultural groups must be organized, reliable, professional and persistent. Organization involves holding some prior meetings within your group, selecting the people who are going to be on your committee from the point of view of their power and prestige, e.g. professionals, teachers, principals, etc., people who have a very high profile in your community. The approach of this committee to the Board of Trustees or to individual trustees must be well organized and well-orchestrated.

As far as reliability is concerned, it is disastrous for the community to switch objectives and demands in midstream. Sometimes, as a result of power struggles of different factions within the group the people on committees change. This has a tendency to make trustees or government agencies say "Well, we are not going to touch that quite yet;" or something just as bad, they will say "We'll take over from the community and do it all ourselves and that way we'll eliminate all kinds of problems." So it's essential to be a serious and reliable group which has its own internal problems resolved so that a coordinated effort will be possible.

What does a professional approach imply? It is most important to get together with someone who knows about procedures in school and who can phrase requests and objectives in ways that educators understand. For example, in Ontario there is a pre-kindergarten – grade 6 curriculum guideline called P1J1. One of the objectives within this ministry guideline is that schools should attempt to develop a positive self-image or self-concept among students. This statement represents a powerful tool for persuading school boards that heritage language programs are very worthwhile. People in the teaching profession can write objectives for the program which emphasizes that that is a major reason why you are teaching the language. Professional input is extremely important in making use of that ministry-mandated objective. Thus, whatever committee you are formulating should include some educators even if those educators are not from your particular linguistic group.

My final advice to ethnocultural organizations is to be persistent. You don't write a letter or phone one person and say "Yes, we've done our job." You must follow-up and make sure that everyone all along the bureaucratic line is aware that you are going to go above them. You should always ask the question "Well, I'm very glad I'm dealing with you, you've really been very helpful, who is the next person I should talk to." That achieves two things: first, it keeps everyone informed right along the line, and second, it makes the person you are speaking to very aware that she or he cannot forget what you are requesting because you are going to follow it up.

There is no question that you must get to trustees since, under the Ontario Education Act, they make the rules at the local level. However, it is also extremely important that the committee formed by the ethnocultural group carry out public relations work with the local school personnel. In the absence of good communication negative feelings can arise among school teachers and principals whose classes and schools are being used for heritage language instruction: for example, such feelings often arise if classroom materials are misplaced or missing. It's useful to let school personnel know you appreciate their cooperation. You shouldn't be above saying to the principal, "Would you mind if I took a few minutes of your time during recess. I'd like to bring some pastries for the teachers to thank them for their cooperation." These are very simple things which work well by letting people feel that kind of personal relationship. We encourage our heritage language teachers to leave a note to the teacher whose classroom they are using which would say something like:

Mrs. _____, I am _____. I am the heritage language teacher in your classroom. I hope everything will be satisfactory in relation to sharing the classroom. Please get in touch with me right away if there is any concern.

This eliminates potential problems because there is a personal contact. It's even better to go and introduce yourself to the regular teacher and ask about his or her concerns. This type of contact is extremely important because teachers have a tendency to be very possessive about their particular domain.

It's also very important to keep superintendents and directors of education informed about what you are trying to do and make sure they don't think you are going around them.

Before presenting yourself to anybody, it's necessary to be sufficiently organized that you have thought out your objectives and the supporting evidence (e.g. heritage language teaching will benefit children's self-concept or cognitive and academic skills). Ideally, these should be laid out in a supporting document. This way it is possible to rationally discuss with trustees or school personnel the relative importance of language development compared to basketball or arts and crafts, etc. Obviously, these are all important but if you have your objectives and evidence well laid out you can make a good case that heritage language development is just as or more important than many other school activities.

Parents must also be kept well-informed because in the past they have been very much misinformed by teachers who suggested that their children were likely to have academic problems in English because of the heritage language. Some parents still believe this. This type of attitude was reinforced by the feeling in some parts of Canada that to be truly Canadian you had to be English, which is assinine because to be truly Canadian you have to be Canadian! However, some ethnocultural parents have this inferiority complex and thus they have to be encouraged to enroll their children in the heritage language program: a) because it's going to improve their children's academic standings, and research demonstrates this; and b) because of the beneficial effects it will have on their children's self-image.

Education for a Multilingual Society – The Canadian Ideal

Jamshed Mavalwala

The Government of Canada officially recognized the reality of the multilingual nature of Canadian society with the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission set up in 1963. Often referred to as the B and B Commission, for Bilingualism and Biculturalism, this commission ending up by declaring that while Canada may have two official languages, it actually consisted of many cultures. The Official Languages Act followed in 1969 giving official language status to French and English in all parliamentary matters.

In 1971 a policy of multiculturalism was unanimously approved by the Canadian Parliament, and in 1976 a non-official language study of the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Government of Canada demonstrated the widespread desire of Canadians to preserve languages other than English or French, because these languages were the bearers of their particular cultures.

It is clear that the governments, both federal and provincial, all now know that the reality of our Canadian society is both multiculturalism and multilingual. However, since before Confederation the entire educational structure in this country has functioned mostly in English, and definitely within the framework of an English cultural milieu. Other than French, an English worldview has been the only one that has pervaded our educational curriculum from K to 13, and beyond to our Universities and professional schools. Even today, our education, whether in curriculum or in worldview, i.e. both content and intent, still remains limited.

Heritage language programs are a good attempt to expand our minds by making our education encompass a wider perception of the world. But while heritage language programs are acceptable as the first step in the process, they will become sadly, only a diversionary tactic, if the full curriculum in its entire breadth does not encompass the worldviews of *all* the peoples of Canada, starting with the many cultures and languages of our Native peoples.

Our worldview is expanded when, in every subject and at every level, the student is kept informed of the existence of all Canadian cultures, by illustrating examples in mathematics problems with Ukrainian or Chinese names, by recognizing the scientific contributions of those outside the Western World, and by creating an attitude that accepts diversity as our richest asset and not our national problem.

If the language of an educational system did not matter, then every child in Canada would be receiving the same sum total of knowledge via the curriculum. However, the language in which an education is imparted significantly affects the knowledge that is communicated. Any individual who is familiar with more than one language knows that it is often close to impossible, if not actually impossible, to convey certain meanings across language barriers. A language not only communicates bald facts, it also communicates nuances of feeling. These nuances of different languages reflect the ways that the culture of that language perceives the world.

Realizing that language reflects culture we must also comprehend another major aspect of the use of a particular language as a tool of communication. Because language is the product of the culture of its users, it also encompasses a particular worldview. And because this worldview is particular and not holistic, it is therefore limited. Our concern should therefore be with just what are we leaving out. When we use the English language, it is the English world on which we focus, and without fully realizing it we become limited to only one way of looking at the world – the English way.

Another illustration of how much perception of the whole truth can be left out is to realize that for nearly all of us in Canada our educational institutions utilize the Mercator projection of the world's map to illustrate what the world looks like. Of course we know that any flat projection of the spherical surface must result in some distortion, but few of us realize just how much is involved. The fact that this particular distortion enlarges the land masses of the northern parts of the map has definitely affected the ways in which we perceive the world. Most people are amazed when they see a map of the world put out by the United Nations where each land mass is shown proportional to its area in square miles.

The worldview of the English language dominates Canada. That in itself is a fact that most Canadians comprehend. However, the fact that this one particular worldview actually inhibits our seeking knowledge is not so well recognized. How many of us recognize that for every English poet brought to our attention, and for every English philosopher taught, there are hundreds of others that we have ignored. Actually we have not ignored them. We do not even know of their existence. We have no comprehension of the gaps in our knowledge.

Does this mean that we must all become fluently multilingual? Or are there other means of widening our worldview so that we are at least aware of other ways of perceiving the world? Most Canadians can easily master one or two languages, and thousands can deal with three or four, but all of this is to no avail if our educational system continues to deal with all of us from within the framework of only one language.

We must realize that because language reflects culture, therefore for every people their language holds dominant status. It provides an accessible common base for all the citizens of that culture and provides for equal opportunity in all walks of life. But this is limited to only the speakers of that language. We need to realize what our monolithic attitudes in English have done to deprive us of the cultural riches of other languages. We need to teach the skills which allow the student to mine the riches of all cultures resident in our country, and not limit the mind to a dominant culture. If such an educational system has never been tried before, it is only because Canada has not been around for very long in terms of world history.

We need to realize that without being proponents of a monolithic educational system locked within the confines of only one language, we can create an educational system that respects and enhances our current linguistic diversity without setting some language out on the sidelines, where there is a real danger of them degenerating into separate segments apart from the mainstream.

Let us face some of the realities of this country. Because English and French are the languages of the cultures which put together the confederation that grew to become the Canada of today, these two languages are the dominant languages of this country. Other languages, especially non-European languages received little social status. The worldviews inherent within these languages were either totally ignored, ridiculed or grossly parodied. How many times have you thought of the incongruity of referring to a land mass clearly known for receiving massive amounts of sunlight as 'dark Africa.' How many of us know the names of the middle eastern philosophers, mathematicians and thinkers who so deeply influenced Greek, Roman and subsequently European thought?

Knowing the limitations of a language is the first step in expanding the effectiveness of the use of that language. No matter what decisions are made regarding the role of other languages in Canada our ultimate goal is to present our children in their formative years with a worldview that is holistic. This holistic worldview is not the sum total of all knowledge but the realization of where the boundaries of knowledge lie. We need to know that poets exist in Namibia just as much as we need to know that a writer exists in Roberval, Quebec. Our educational system needs to quote Shakespeare and Rabindranath Tagore. We must not continue to ignore the products of great minds just because they were not originally produced in a language familiar to us. We will become multicultural only with a curriculum that brings examples from all over the world into the students' world from K to 13 and onwards. We need to produce a mathematics book in which the characters have names in all the languages represented by the peoples of Canada. It is not a cardinal rule that to learn addition it must always be Jack selling apples to Mary or Jacques selling apples to Marie. When we expand our minds to encompass other names and other commodities we have taken the first steps to global understanding.

Until recently Canadian attitudes towards other languages have classically reflected attitudes built up by colonization. A rigid superiority has been maintained and much of great value lost. While recent attempts to extend respect to other languages must be given credit, the ways in which this recognition has been handled leaves much to be desired. We have generated a new name for an old phenomenon. Instead of full and equal participation or even full respect, many ethnolinguistic communities have been led to believe that the salvation of their languages lies in being taught in Canada at levels *outside* the mainstream of education. While heritage language programs are a step forward and may even be a step in a direction that may prove to be severly limiting to future generations of that community. As long as heritage language programs help to enhance a language and the community that uses it, among *all* Canadians, then heritage language programs are moving us towards a holistic worldview. But the real goal can easily be lost sight of and the sad fact is that our brilliantly conceived notions of a multicultural society floundered after 1971 in a plethora of superficial ethnic food and ethnic dance binges and 10 years later we are still seeking a real understanding of each other.

The ultimate goal is to work towards a Canada where even if English and/or French remain the dominant languages, our access to other languages remains open. Not open just to a few but to all. Our goal should be that we should become aware of Ukrainian poets, Polish novelists, Croation scholarship, Hungarian philosophers, Chinese engineers, either in translation or in the original. We cannot become totally multilingual but any normally intelligent person can function in more than one language. We need to break the stupid notion that dominates us – that we can learn only in one language or that the acquisition of another language is an insurmountable task.

To achieve our goal we do not want to go the route of separate ghettos of language users; rather, we want to develop access to languages that permeate our entire educational system and our entire social attitudes. Have you ever thought why in Canada going to the theatre and seeing a Shakespearean play is 'high culture' but seeing a play 'in English' by Tagore is not?

To focus our entire attention to setting up small cells of language retention while the regular school curriculum steamrollers children into believing the superiority of only one worldview, is to allow ourselves to be cheated of what we can achieve in Canada. Our immediate aim can be to generate efficient heritage language programs, but our true aim should be to generate a total curriculum that in its attitudes in every single subject, not just the social sciences, exposes the mind of the child the the 'whole' world.

It will not be of much avail to us to enhance Punjabi as a language, taught outside the classroom to mainly children of the Sikh community, if we continue to allow the mainstream classroom to see the Sikh in detrimental stereotypes. What good will it do our grandchildren to be able to speak Ukrainian or Polish or Greek if their community is still, two generations from now, perceived as some-

thing not quite fully Canadian? Where will Cree, Odawa, or the many other languages of our Native peoples be best appreciated? Only by them, or by all of us being aware of their existence?

I do not wish to stop the process in Canada whereby *all* its citizens are slowly coming to be regarded as its full citizens,

and not just groups brought here to build the railways or open up the prairies or pick fruit or function as porters on our trains. If we believe that every child in Canada has the right to all the opportunities of an education, then each and every child should be able to receive that education without some having to feel denigrated. We are far from treating *all* children equally in the classroom. Linguistically we have just emerged from a phase where even the names of children were changed when they enrolled in a school. Some names were declared unpronounceable or no reason was offered other than that a name was different. Maria became Mary and thousands of people had to accept the grim fact that in a free democratic country their tiny child would do better in kindergarten with an English name. From the fundamental first steps of respecting the language rights of others by learning to pronounce their names correctly we can then proceed to seeing the many facets of the world, instead of seeing only one facet.

Heritage language programs create many tensions within the very communities they purport to serve. The most critical is the tension of identity. Some individuals regard heritage language retention as an impediment to being accepted as Canadian. So they reject the language. Others perceive upward social mobility as being hampered by their knowledge of another language or even by an accent associated with another language. Until their justifiable tensions can be eased our progress will be limited. As long as heritage language programs continue to be beset with poor administrative guidelines, and with a heavy emphasis on control at a very local level, they will continue to be riddled with inequality.

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